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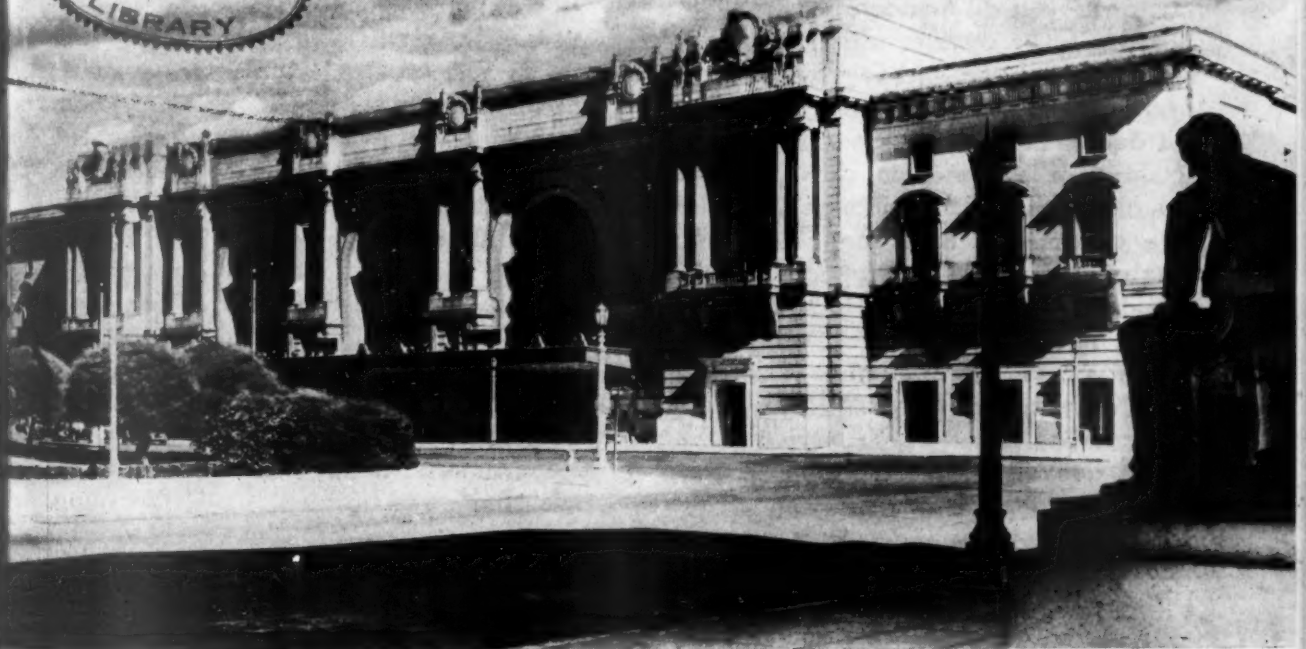
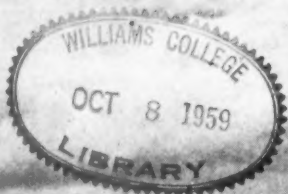
SEPTEMBER 1959
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American **FEDERATIONIST**

San Francisco's **CIVIC AUDITORIUM**

SITE OF AFL-CIO'S THIRD BIENNIAL CONVENTION



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The Khrushchev Visit

*Text of a statement by the
AFL-CIO Executive Council.*

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has invited **Nikita Khrushchev**, the head of the Soviet Union, to visit the United States in the near future. From various quarters there have come to us queries as to what is our attitude to the forthcoming visit of Mr. Khrushchev.

It is not for the AFL-CIO Executive Council to approve or disapprove an invitation extended by our President to the head of another government. We do not, therefore, have any comment to make on the wisdom of the President's invitation. At the same time we must all face the situation realistically.

The Soviet regime continues to be a totalitarian dictatorship. It is dedicated to aggression and world domination. It has destroyed all democratic rights and liberties in its own country. It is now seeking to subvert and destroy the rights and liberties which we Americans cherish dearly in our country. There is not a shred of evidence to show that the Kremlin rulers have changed the nature or aims of their regime or even slackened their drive to conquer the world and remold it on the pattern of Soviet tyranny.

It has been reported that Vice-President Nixon, during his visit to the U.S.S.R., indicated he would urge American labor to join actively in an exchange program with the so-called unions of Soviet Russia. It is, therefore, necessary to set the record straight.

In this situation the Executive Council reaffirms its declaration of February, 1959, against exchanging delegations with dictatorship countries. We further reiterate our wholehearted support of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' policy against exchanges

of delegations with the so-called trade unions in Communist or any other totalitarian countries.

The AFL-CIO is an organization of free trade unions. There are no Soviet counterparts with which we of the AFL-CIO can have such exchanges. The Kremlin dictatorship strictly prohibits the Soviet workers from organizing free trade unions. The so-called trade unions in the U.S.S.R. are nothing but agencies of the Communist dictatorship. Consequently, it is out of the question for the AFL-CIO to give recognition to the head of a government which does not permit its own workers to have any free trade unions. American labor could never participate in honoring the head of a government which seeks to destroy human freedom in any form.

Furthermore, as a free trade union movement, the AFL-CIO is not bound to agree with every domestic or foreign policy of our government. For example, the American labor movement has always firmly opposed U.S. recognition of the Franco dictatorship. But our government has recognized and has even given economic aid to this dictatorship. Such governmental actions do not mean that the AFL-CIO should welcome Franco to our shores in the event our government should ever invite him to visit the United States.

By the same token, the President's invitation to Mr. Khrushchev does not mean that the AFL-CIO should participate in honoring this head of a foreign government which runs a vast network of forced labor camps and which ordered the murder of thousands of Hungarians fighting for their national independence and freedom.



American

FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

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GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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Steel Strike

American labor will stand unified against the open onslaught launched to destroy the barriers erected against economic slavery. We must display indomitable courage against this attack or surrender all of the social justice and economic gains which have brought our beloved nation to a peak of prosperity never matched in the history of mankind.

We in the United Steelworkers for more than a year have been sounding warnings that the time was approaching when industry would challenge our rights to full partnership in the American way of life. Today the United Steelworkers are serving as the shock troops meeting the attack against labor's principles and objectives head-on. We were not misled into complacency. Nor were we lulled into a false sense of security.

Bitter experience of years past taught us that nothing ever was gained by labor without a struggle. Dictators for centuries have marched under spurious banners chanting false slogans to capture and enslave peoples who have achieved a decent way of life.

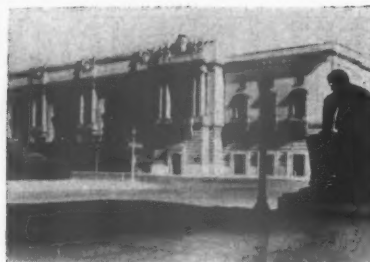
So it is today with this new type of industrial dictator who seeks to substitute a form of economic peonage for enlightenment and progress toward that great American ideal—peace and prosperity for all the peoples of the world.

The fate of the entire American labor movement may well depend upon the outcome of the Steelworkers' fight for a just and honorable labor contract. It is no exaggeration to say that if our union capitulates, the outlook for every wage-earner in America, organized and unorganized, is bleak indeed.

The United Steelworkers will never surrender the economic rights of the American workingman. With every fiber of our being, with every resource at our command, we will fight this battle to a victorious conclusion. The unqualified support tendered us by every part of the American labor movement helps us in that fight.

David J. McDonald.

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San Francisco's Civic Auditorium, scene of parley of American labor.

Grave Problems Confront Third AFL-CIO Convention

MEETING in its third biennial convention, the AFL-CIO this month will fashion a program to repel the heaviest attack against trade unionism in more than a generation. San Francisco is the convention city. About 900 delegates are expected to take part in the conclave.

The convention was scheduled to consider wide-ranging resolutions and proposals to mobilize the labor movement against the current attack and press for the achievement of social and economic goals that would result in better lives for the nation's working people. The concentration on program and policies will be the convention's predominant theme.

The 1959 parley of the merged labor federation was considered by many to be one of the most crucial gatherings in the history of the American labor movement. In the face of the heavy attacks on unionism by hostile employers and legislators cooperating with them, the convention will undoubtedly vote to close ranks to defend rights already won by organized labor

and to bring about needed advances in the next two years.

The delegates will give their attention to the current attempt of the steel industry to wreck the United Steelworkers of America by refusing to bargain in good faith. The leaders of American labor recognize that if anti-union employers can destroy the Steelworkers, subsequent efforts to weaken and kill other unions—particularly those which are smaller and weaker than the Steelworkers—may be anticipated.

The so-called labor "reform" law will also be in the spotlight at San Francisco. The new law contains a variety of provisions under which honest labor organizations can be injured, making them less effective instruments for the economic protection of their members.

Approval of more political education and more political action was regarded as a certainty. The need for increased activity was shown by the failure of Congress to take action on bills that would benefit most of the American people while the lawmakers of both parties, prodded by Pres-

ident Eisenhower, gave their approval to harsh labor legislation vigorously opposed by the AFL-CIO.

The delegates had before them a 365-page report of the Executive Council which spelled out the record of the AFL-CIO since the Atlantic City convention in December, 1957. It was at that convention that the International-



Wielder of the gavel at biennial meet is President George Meany.

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al Brotherhood of Teamsters and other unions under corrupt influence were expelled.

The Executive Council said that, despite the dangers which lie ahead and the problems still unsolved, "we look to the future with confidence, secure in the belief that our cause will triumph."

In the last two years, the report asserted, the labor movement has "weathered some of the worst storms in trade union history" but nevertheless has "moved consistently forward."

The Council found "a shocking state of stagnation" in the national economy and a "marked deterioration" in international affairs.

President George Meany declared the wisdom of the AFL-

CIO merger has been amply proved in the past two years. The merger, he wrote in his report to the convention, "has provided labor with an indispensable reservoir of strength at a time when it was most urgently needed." He said the merger was working out well.

Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler's detailed financial report was a part of the Executive Council document. He reported that the AFL-CIO had a net worth of \$5,441,236 on June 30, 1959. Assets were \$7,624,548, or \$149,151 less than on June 30, 1957.

In the section of the Council's report devoted to organizing, the delegates were informed that the AFL-CIO and its affiliated

unions have brought in 1,000,000 new members since the merger, even though "organizing today is more difficult, more costly, requires more manpower than was the case a few years ago."

The report told of a "substantial beginning" in the organizing of agricultural workers despite "fierce" opposition from powerful employer groups, lack of government protection for the right of farm workers to be represented by unions and the "special problems" of migratory workers.

One of the goals of the AFL-CIO Department of Organization, the Council said, is to keep alive, throughout the labor movement, "the sense of organizing urgency and challenge."

The Philosophy of Trade Unionism

By **GEORGE E. FAIRCHILD**

*General Secretary-Treasurer,
Building Service Employees International Union*

UNIONISM at the outset was a defensive step against the tyranny and oppression of monopolies, trusts and huge employer combines which were rapidly reducing the individual worker to a state of economic and industrial slavery. It was a direct outgrowth of the philosophy of the freedom of man—a cry against undernourishment, unemployment and insecurity.

Unionism was the medium which working men discovered to help them gain that middle ground between the enormous riches in the hands of a few and the abject poverty that was the lot of the multitude. It was incorporated as the voice of millions of workers struggling to get their bit of bread from the few who controlled the material millions of the land.

From time immemorial the rich and influential, in every country on the globe, even including our own United States, used slave labor and mercilessly exploited their fellow man in one way or another.

From slavery in the Old World, serfdom or partial freedom developed. Its counterpart is the sharecropper

system still being used in some parts of this country.

From serfdom developed the contract system of labor used in earlier times in the United States. Due to shortage of labor here, employers recruited workers from Europe, paid their passage over and contracted them to work until their debt to the employer was satisfied.

Then came the factory system which required a man's whole family to work in the factory as a prerequisite of his own employment, with no one member of the family receiving enough pay to live on. These early New England factory workers living under this system lived in factory houses. They were paid in factory script and had to trade at factory stores.

The constant stream of immigrants pouring into the country insured an adequate supply of cheap labor. Worker was pitted against worker, with all helpless against the organized might of the industrialists of the time.

Thus developed the labor movement—a movement of self-defense of

those who for a living were forced to toil with their hands. It was a movement against the tyranny and oppression of the unjust industrial system which was slowly but surely grinding the worker back into a state of slavery.

Through the labor movement mankind has found the only medium by which the worker can protect his interests in the highly organized industrial world we live in today.

Unionism is against any form of political, economic or social slavery. Through the years it has only had one objective—creating for mankind a better way of life with equal rights for all. Unionism is the voice of the small who, through the ages, have asked only for the right to live as man was intended by his Creator to live.

In short, unionism has proved to be the only bulwark against economic slavery. Unionism is in fact the emancipation proclamation and bill of rights for those who toil, and it will grow through eternity to stand and strengthen the working people against any onslaught whatsoever.

LET'S DELIVER THE ANSWER

By JAMES L. McDEVITT
National Director, COPE

RECENTLY the Washington bureau chief of an important chain of newspapers wrote an article which purported to be about the political activity of unions. He declared, with a straight face:

"It has been estimated that unions spent upwards of \$510,000,000 on political activity during the 1958 Congressional elections which resulted in a Democratic sweep."

The fact that \$510,000,000 is about \$40 per member of the AFL-CIO, that it is more than the combined advertising budgets of all the automobile companies and all the soap companies, that it would be in the vicinity of \$1,000,000 for each member of the Senate and House—these facts apparently made no difference. Nor did the editors of the newspapers that printed the dispatch apparently see the absurdity of the figure.

The next sentence of this article said:

"The Justice Department has not brought a single case anywhere in the nation arising out of that election."

Just about the time this piece appeared, a division of the National Association of Manufacturers put out its publication entitled *Public Affairs*. Its inside four pages were devoted to accounts by "A Republican Observer" of two of our COPE area conferences.

One account stated:

"No gesture at any of the sessions was made at consulting the 'delegates.'"

The account on the other page stated:

"COPE leaders and staff members put a strong and noticeably insistent emphasis on delegate participation in discussion—with excellent results."

An interesting feature of these reports was the fact that they appeared to come from representatives sent to the conferences by the Republican National Committee at my invitation. We were a bit surprised, of course, that the reports first saw the light of



JAMES L. McDEVITT

day in a publication of the NAM.

In the same month United Press International sent out an article which stated that COPE "has issued its first blacklist on the 1960 campaign." We searched our files and our memories and finally discovered that what the UPI reporter was talking about was a rolcall vote we had printed in our *Political Memo From COPE* on four important Senate votes. In the meantime the "blacklist" story, together with accompanying denunciatory editorials, appeared three or four times in the appendix of the *Congressional Record*.

In the 1958 Congressional campaign one of the area directors of COPE had his hotel room broken into and the notebook in which he kept a list of his long distance calls for expense account purposes was stolen. By coincidence this list of long distance calls was printed in the principal papers of that city the next day.

This same area director was kept under constant surveillance by private detectives equipped with cameras with telescopic lenses. By coincidence some of these pictures were printed in the same papers. They showed him committing the crime of

having lunch with the state chairman of one of the political parties.

Yet throughout the candidate opposed by labor kept screaming that he was being smeared by COPE!

I DO not cite these incidents with any thought of whining. After all, as Harry Truman has said, if you can't stand the heat, you should get out of the kitchen. I cite them merely as examples—and there are many more—of the kind of thing labor is up against when it enters a field so completely dominated for so long by industry.

They are also pertinent because today we are on the threshold of a new political offensive by industry led, it would seem, by General Electric.

Practically every issue of the daily paper contains some new announcement by a major company that it is entering the field of politics.

The American Can Company has announced, for example, that it has designated a political liaison man for each one of its plants. This functionary will have the job of keeping in touch with the representative from the district in which the plant is located as well as the two Senators from that state.

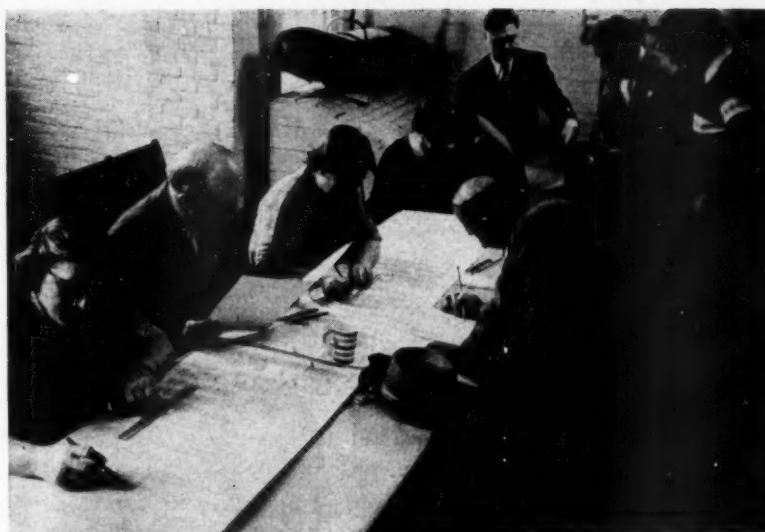
According to reports filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives for the first six months of 1959, a little group of industrialists headed by Admiral Ben Moreell, former president of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, which calls itself Americans for Constitutional Action received \$114,019, which, considering the fact it spent only \$18,715 of that amount in the same period, constitutes the basis of a good slush fund for next year. (The \$114,019, incidentally, was more than twice the \$56,521 received by COPE in the same period. Of that amount COPE spent \$43,301.)

In Mississippi in the recent gubernatorial campaign the president of the Mississippi Manufacturers Asso-

ciation went to work as campaign manager for one of the candidates. In virtually every state the local Chamber of Commerce and the local branch of the National Association of Manufacturers are busy with politics and plans for politics next year.

It is not yet entirely clear what line this political offensive by industry will take. But it is clear that the more aggressive it becomes the more the great daily newspapers, with so very few exceptions, will be hammering the political efforts of labor—distorting, magnifying, maligning. They seem to have a sixth sense in sniffing out the line that would be most pleasing to the bosses of industry.

There can only be one answer on our part. Elections are still won and lost at the polling place and not in the name-calling and exchange of insults that take place at campaign time. It is up to us to mobilize our strength at the polling place. Millions of trade



Registration is the first step in sending our foes back to private life.

union members, registered and informed, can deliver the answer so loud and clear that there can be no misunderstanding. We have no time to waste. Already the campaign of 1960 is very much under way.

Employers Shielded by Public Press

By R. G. SODERSTROM
President, Illinois State AFL-CIO

A GOOD deal has been said in the public press about what is wrong in the world of labor. Corruption in the labor-management field has been dramatized, with unions receiving most of the bad newspaper publicity.

For every crook in the labor world there is at least one crooked employer. The public press has exposed the corruption in some unions, but at the same time it has shielded the employers whose money and tampering with labor officials caused the corruption.

I want to comment on what is *right* in the activities of our unions. I want to emphasize what decent, honorable, dedicated men of labor are doing day and night, week after week and months on end, for their members, for their fellow citizens, for these United States and the cause of freedom throughout a dangerously troubled world.

One admirable feature about the labor movement is the fact that it has provided for tens of thousands of inarticulate wage-earners an agency in which to pound out policies and programs for human betterment.

Unions have made the word "democracy" mean something worthwhile. They have made citizenship in our country a distinct honor. Their teachings have made the right to petition for a better day a public duty.

The unions have pooled their efforts through state AFL-CIO organizations and have used their combined strength in the legislative halls in pursuit of the general welfare of the organized and unorganized alike.

Organized labor is opposed to all forms of dictatorship, either from the top or the bottom, either from the left or the right. The American labor movement succeeded in stopping the spread of Communist aggression into the free world.

Unions have made a tremendous contribution to the well-being of their own members and to the development of our economic system, which is frequently referred to as dynamic.

In the legislative halls of a number of states the labor movement has attained enormous prestige. It has taken the lead in securing laws bene-

ficial to all of our citizens—pensions for the blind, pensions for widowed mothers and orphans, assistance for the aged, the injured in industry, the unemployed.

The labor movement has supported health benefits for retired people, eight-hour laws, public housing and slum clearance, aid to education, civil rights for all and dozens of other progressive measures and objectives.

Wage-earners should all be proud to be a part of this great movement. By displaying pride and loyalty to ourselves we will attract others to us.

We want those who believe in liberty, world peace and the Great Ruler above to become pro-labor and join with us in establishing a perfect triumph of the brotherhood of man.

There may be a few things wrong with labor. But there are a million things that are right. We must not let newspapers or any other enemy of labor interfere with the progress the labor movement can make in the future—progress which really should surpass the advancement we have made in days gone by.

Organize the Unorganized!

By JOHN W. LIVINGSTON
AFL-CIO Director of Organization

Organize the unorganized!

That has been a rallying cry in labor circles for many years. A familiar call, it always arouses an enthusiastic response when spoken from the rostrum of a convention hall or as a climax to a delegate's remarks during a union meeting.

What is the real significance of the phrase? Why does it appear so often in the discussions of active trade unionists? Why do union members attach such importance to the concept it expresses?

The answer is that, almost instinctively, trade unionists realize that organizing is a necessary function if unions are to grow or even survive in today's changing world and that, just as instinctively, trade unionists recognize and respond to the missionary challenge the slogan embraces.

Union members in the United States traditionally have been imbued with a zeal to extend to their yet unorganized fellow workers the benefits they themselves have realized or hope to obtain through unionization. Fundamentally, this is rooted in the idealistic character of the working people of the nation. In addition, it arises out of the common bond that all workers feel for one another because of their sharing, generally, the problems and experiences of the work situation.

But even if organized wage-earners felt no responsibility for their fellow workers not yet organized or lacked concern for their well-being, practical considerations would compel union members to deem organizing activities as essential.

Every unorganized plant, shop, service or work location stands as a threat, actual or potential, to the gains union members have won over the years through their collective action. This has always been recognized as a fact by trade unionists. Today the significance of the fact may be greater than at any other time be-



JOHN W. LIVINGSTON

cause of the changing character of the work force and of work procedures.

Attention has been drawn to the change that has taken place in the national economy whereby for the first time in our history the white-collar worker has supplanted, numerically, the manual or blue-collar worker. All manner of conjecture has been made as to the effect this development will have on economic stability, political events, etc.

Union leaders have been quick to point out that the relative increase in the number of white-collar workers could have a definite and adverse impact on the size and importance of unions if the trend continues—and it will—and if unions continue to be largely blue-collar in composition.

Other changes, too, have been noted—the continuing influx of women workers, the movement of industry into new areas, particularly the South and the West, and the increasing use of automotive devices both in production and clerical operations. All these innovations and developments are added to the growing list of factors that will effect the po-

sition of organized labor in the national economic, social and political areas.

When all these matters are taken into consideration, the forcefulness of the call to organize the unorganized becomes more intense than ever. For if the changes in the work force and in the very character of the national work life take place as current moves now indicate, failure to respond to the changes will mean, beyond question, a downward move in the effectiveness of unions to fulfill their role as instruments of economic betterment for working men and women of our country.

To organize, therefore, is more than just an idealistic impulse. It becomes for organized labor, in the face of all these changing circumstances, an indispensable ingredient for survival.

Organizing requires more than use of a slogan, however, and more than just a feeling of urgency. The task of organizing has always demanded hard effort. Today organizing is more difficult, entails expenditure of more finances and calls for greater use of manpower than was the case in former times. Future organizing will augment the difference.

It is commonly recognized among organizers in the field today that more time must be expended with individual workers than formerly was the case. Organizing aids must be more specific, organizing literature more directly related to particular needs and circumstances.

General appeals do not have the effect that such calls had in the days of the great upsurge of unionism in the Thirties. Each organizing situation, while having certain elements in common with all organizing problems, presents unique aspects that can be dealt with only by specific means.

In the AFL-CIO publication re-

porting on the national organizing conference held in Washington last January, the phrase "custom tailoring" was used to denote the attention that must be paid to specific matters in successful organizing today. Union programs must be tailor-made to meet the singular needs and particular problems that confront workers in today's changing work world.

This means that unions must have an organizing "frame of reference" that embraces flexibility, imagination, resourcefulness and sensitive response to circumstances as they are found. Organizers must possess qualities that reflect these features of the union program.

In some cases this may mean adopting an almost completely new organizing approach. Some unions have already taken such measures in response to technical developments within their fields of operation.

In most instances, however, such a drastic revision of organizing programs is not necessary. Even here, however, a realistic appraisal of the job that lies ahead would indicate the desirability of taking a new, hard look at present practices and procedures with an eye to updating them, if needed.

A NUMBER of our AFL-CIO unions have embarked upon such programs, calling their organizing staffs together in organizing conferences in which even long-time veterans review elementary facets of organizing.

The heartening feature of these conferences has been the eagerness with which organizers have participated in the discussions of techniques, methods and general organizing approach. With rare exceptions, they welcome the opportunity to join with their associates in a joint evaluation of their operations.

In part this is due to recognition on their part that organizing today must be carried on within the context of current problems and that those problems are not always vulnerable to solution by formerly successful methods. In part, also, it is due to the knowledge that interest in unionization appears to be on the upgrade again and the desire to be able to take advantage of this renewed interest on the part of workers.

All over the nation there is evidence of a moderate resurgence of organizing interest. In view of all the adverse publicity and increased

employer hostility that have marked post-merger years, this is an encouraging development. More, it is a form of proof that working men and women in this country still believe that unions comprise a worthy instrumentality for obtaining their goals.

Upon this basic conviction we can build our movement greater and stronger. Our unions must establish collective bargaining programs that will justify this faith the workers have manifested in them.

In addition, they must pursue a lively program of organizing, a program that takes cognizance of the changing work environment, the

changing composition of the working force, the special needs that these new circumstances create.

With these twin programs of responsive organizing techniques and collective bargaining programs, the American labor movement will continue to grow. It will continue to serve its members. It will continue to play, on the national, state and local scene, the beneficial role it presently plays, not just for its members but for the total community.

Essential for this continued growth is adherence to the program summed up in the slogan with which this article began:

Organize the unorganized!

Golden Anniversary

By JOSEPH LEWIS

Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label and Service Trades Department

FIFTY years have gone by since a group of dedicated trade unionists gathered in Washington and formed what is now known as the Union Label and Services Trade Department of the AFL-CIO.

It was decided then that a national organization was needed to guide the buying habits of union members and their families and friends in order that the purchasing power of union-earned wages might be used in such a way as to bring added security, higher wages and better working conditions to all who toil.

The idea of working people banding together for a common purpose is indeed as old as trade unionism itself. Of equal importance is the idea that it is a good thing for one trade unionist to patronize the goods produced by another.

Union labels, shop cards and service buttons came into being so that the purchasing public might know that the products and services they obtain are made possible by union people—that the worker concerned receives a union wage and enjoys job security and working conditions made possible only by a negotiated contract between union and employer.

During 1959 we have been celebrating a half century of promoting and publicizing the emblems of organized labor—the union label, the shop card and the service button. Our Department realizes that the effectiveness of

these symbols has come about through the efforts and support received from millions of union members and their families and friends.

In this year of our golden anniversary we have been urging the members of all our AFL-CIO unions to join in the festive occasion. Trade unionists can help make this a real celebration by resolving to spend their union-earned wages for goods and services produced by their fellow members of the trade union movement—by always looking for and demanding union labels, shop cards and service buttons when buying and spending.

The past fifty years have been marked by great progress on the part of the trade union movement. Social legislation has been obtained which beneficially affects everybody. Wages have been increased, job conditions have been bettered, old-age and retirement benefits have been established. Despite some setbacks, wage-earners have moved forward significantly. Constant demand for goods and services provided by union labor has helped secure these benefits for all.

Our next half century will be determined, in great measure, by the way we spend our union-earned dollars. As consumers let us make it a firm rule, in the months and years ahead, to insist upon the union label, the shop card and the service button whenever we spend any money.

Trouble in Canada

By **CLAUDE JODOIN**
President, Canadian Labor Congress

LABOR in Canada is a target for exactly the same kind of attacks that are being made on labor in the United States. There are some variations in methods to meet conditions that happen to be different in our country, but basically the situation is the same—an all-out effort by enemies of labor to destroy or weaken seriously the organizations which working people have built to protect their interests.

The most vigorous efforts since the founding days of the Canadian labor movement are being made to push through labor legislation that would cripple unions, drain them of their funds and make legal strikes and picket lines things of the past. At the same time campaigns are under way to undermine unions by smear tactics and charges that labor's collective bargaining is an economic threat to the country.

Canadian labor is aroused by these threats to the very existence of our organizations and is fighting back. The efforts to destroy effective trade unions have become an important factor in labor's relations to the Canadian political scene.

One aspect of the anti-labor drive in our country has been directed particularly against international unions. The relationship between many trade unions in Canada and the United States is a unique one. Nowhere else in the world do we find the same association with members in two countries belonging to the same organization. There is sound historic reason for this.

Industrial growth in Canada, in its early days, drew strength from both Great Britain and the United States. A large proportion of the tradesmen came from Britain and brought with them membership cards and the traditions of the British trade union movement, and so some of the earlier "international" unions in Canada were



CLAUDE JODOIN

actually British unions. At the same time the close geographic proximity of the United States was a factor, and there was frequent movement of workers north and south across the border between our two countries. This led to mutual recognition of union cards and later to the formation of international organizations as we know them today.

The international unions linked with Britain disappeared. This was not a surprising development. Canada's economic growth has been increasingly tied in with that of the United States, and large proportions of the capital which has flowed into Canada leading to its rapid industrial expansion in recent years have come from the United States.

The result has been that something over 70 per cent of the organized workers in Canada now hold membership in international unions, sharing that membership with their brothers and sisters in organizations south of our border. The remainder are mem-

bers of purely Canadian organizations.

Both types of unions are affiliated with the Canadian Labor Congress, and it has long been the view of the Canadian labor movement as a whole that this is quite a proper situation.

Basically we believe that the decision as to whether a group of workers should have an international or a national union is a matter for those workers. As it is now, many management people and many editorial writers are trying to make it their business. They are urging workers to abandon their international labor connections and to form purely Canadian organizations.

The smear campaign conducted in an attempt to tar all labor with the brush of racketeering is one of the methods being used in this connection. Those who attempt by these means to interfere in purely internal union affairs conveniently ignore the fact that in a great many instances the members of international unions are employees of companies which are also international.

These companies are controlled from head offices—very often in the United States—to a far greater degree than the affairs of Canadian members of international unions are controlled by international headquarters of their organizations in the United States.

The fact is with very few exceptions the Canadian members of international unions have enjoyed a very high degree of autonomy in their own affairs. At the same time they have enjoyed the benefits of belonging to a much larger and stronger organization than would otherwise be possible. Certainly trade unionism in Canada could not have attained its present strength without the support that has come from international unions.

This is, however, only one part

of the attack which Canadian labor is facing. Very strong and highly organized efforts are being made by management to have highly restrictive legislation adopted.

The legislative situation in Canada is complicated by the fact that federal legislation applies to only a very limited number of workers, largely in transportation and communications; others come under provincial jurisdiction. This means that, in addition to the federal government at Ottawa, there are ten different provincial governments which decide what type of legislation labor shall operate under.

The anti-labor sections of management have scored initial successes in getting the kind of legislation they want adopted in some provinces, particularly British Columbia and Newfoundland. Almost all the other provincial governments, as well as the federal government, are expected to review their labor legislation within the next year.

In Ottawa the Conservative government has been displaying an increasing coolness toward organized labor and has demonstrated its attitude by pointedly ignoring recommendations of the Canadian Labor Congress—which represents more than four-fifths of the organized workers in the country—in regard to the appointment of labor representatives to various bodies.

At the same time, the government which introduced viciously anti-labor legislation in British Columbia is a Social Credit government, and Newfoundland, where anti-labor legislation violating the most fundamental human rights has been adopted, has a Liberal government.

These circumstances may have an important bearing on the attitude of Canadian union members in deciding whether or not they should promote the organization of a new political party. Very active discussions are just now being held by representatives of the labor movement, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and other interested persons about what action should be taken in this direction.

The British Columbia legislation, labeled as "Bill 43," restricts picketing to members of the striking union at the actual place of business of the employer concerned. It throws the union open to all sorts of legal action, even on the basis of an alleged illegal

act by a single member. It prohibits the publication, other than at the place of business, about unfair labor practices of a struck employer. It violates one of the fundamental principles of British justice by leaving the way open for presumption of guilt on the part of the union until the organization can prove otherwise.

The Newfoundland legislation, in the island province on Canada's other coast, was rammed through the legislature of that province in an effort to break a strike of the International Woodworkers of America which, for the first time, was bringing democracy to the loggers of Newfoundland.

The legislation in effect, outlawed the IWA and exposed all other trade unions to the same kind of treatment.

Union funds can be seized and disposed of as the government sees fit. Individuals who try to hold a meeting or in any way continue a union which has been ruled against by the government are subject to fines and jail sentences. A legal strike becomes virtually an impossibility. Collective agreements can be wiped out with the stroke of an official pen.

IN THE provinces between these two coasts, management spokesmen and their propagandists are pressing for the passing of these and other forms of legislation which would strip unions of their strength and leave workers as helpless as they were before the days of union organization.

The government of Ontario, Canada's most highly industrialized province, has before it a Legislative Select Committee report which makes fifty-one recommendations, the majority of them aimed against unions. The same trend is evident elsewhere.

Labor in Canada is well aware that it is fighting for its life. Great strides have been made by our movement over the years. Living standards have been improved, working conditions have been bettered, social legislation of benefit to all the people has been passed. Now that the movement is threatened, these advances are also threatened.

This threat comes at a time when labor in Canada is facing great industrial changes. The expansion of industry in Canada has been accompanied by great technological changes, and while production can be maintained at high levels, the need for workers declines.

We have recently faced very severe unemployment problems. Particularly Canada experiences unemployment during the winter months, and so far there has been little effort, despite the pleas and suggestions of the labor movement, to meet this ever-recurring situation.

We experienced a recession, and our answer was, in part, to drive for wage increases which would provide new stimulus to our economy. We were strongly opposed by the government as well as by employers. We were told to "hold the line." We refused. Our unions sought and obtained wage increases, and the impact of the recession lessened.

Now we are being told that in seeking higher wages we are jeopardizing our exports and "pricing ourselves out of the market." The economic facts show that this is not so.

Over the past three and a half years Canadian labor has consolidated the organization which came from a merger in 1956. It would be less than frank to say that our internal problems have all been solved; but we have built a much stronger and more united organization than labor in Canada has ever known before.

Serious as these threats are, we face the future with confidence. The labor movement as we know it came into being as the outcome of struggle. The pioneers of our organization faced and overcame opposition from forces of the very same color and stripe as those who would weaken and destroy labor today.

Yet labor has grown. Not only do we have in Canada an organization in which we feel we can take pride, but we have also a most valued association with labor movements throughout the world through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

As Canadian trade unionists we have a particularly close association with the labor movement of the United States. We value most highly the friendship and the cooperation which exist between the AFL-CIO and the CLC.

The fact that this kind of association is so bitterly opposed by the most reactionary types of management proves in itself that it is in the interests of the workers, and we in Canada have no intention of allowing it to be weakened.

Not Enough Teachers

By **CARL J. MEGEL**

President, American Federation of Teachers

IT IS not news that the teacher shortage in the nation's schools is greater than ever before.

The U.S. Office of Education has reported an increase of 1,750,000 in school enrollment. The deficit of qualified teachers is estimated at 195,000, compared with 182,000 last year. Commissioner of Education Lawrence Derthick says the teacher shortage is likely to continue for many years. School enrollment has been mounting for fifteen years.

Not only is there an insufficient supply of new teachers graduating, but every year the nation loses vast numbers of experienced teachers to retirement and industry. Many who quit the profession do so only because of the deplorable salaries and undesirable working conditions.

Industry continues to talk about the nation's educational system while it pulls teachers from the schools to better-paying jobs within its own circle. Industry continues to endow private schools, often for special departments which will enhance their own ranks, while fighting additional funds for public school operation.

The truest friend that the public schools have had through the years has been the labor movement. A continuing fight has been waged by labor to bring the finest possible education to the nation's children.

Often one hears that teachers, being professional and dedicated people, do not need to join unions in order to be effective. This notion is completely false. If we wish to have the best kind of teachers, they must have the same democratic rights and privileges as all other citizens.

Functions of a teachers' union include:

▶The unification of all members toward the attainment of just compensation for honest work.

▶Guarding against speedups and stretchouts.

▶The establishment of practical machinery for adjustment of grievances,



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▶Exposing and condemning any subterfuge which deprives teachers of opportunity to do the work for which they are qualified and for which they have been employed.

▶Standing firmly for the rights and

privileges guaranteed to the citizens of a free democracy.

▶Establishing the prestige of the classroom teacher by the maintenance of professional standards and the assurance of job security after reasonable probationary periods.

MAN is reproducing at a fantastic rate. Coinciding with this growth in population is the expanding knowledge of science. The development of speed creates a greater need for understanding among all peoples and increases the need for education. Yet we as a nation often seem indifferent to the importance of education.

The Communists, with their shoddy ideological merchandise, are doing a selling job on the field of ideas. They give priority to education. They pay good salaries to their teachers, give them prestige and then bluntly command them to teach the "advantages" of communism and to low-rate democracy.

Freedom cannot exist in a society

In a nation as wealthy as ours, there's no excuse for such overcrowding.





When our schools don't have enough qualified teachers, how can our children get the good education they need?

which does not teach and practice freedom.

Ten per cent of America's public school teachers quit teaching every year. The turnover is greater than in any other profession. Just as it galls the American teacher to be denied academic freedom, there is the irritation of second-class citizenship.

The teaching profession in the United States has many problems not often understood by the average layman.

American life has many facets. School boards, dominated by businessmen, applaud business-industry days in the schools, but woe to the teacher who becomes involved in labor philosophy in the classroom.

Teachers are entitled to and are increasingly demanding the same civil, political and personal freedoms guaranteed other citizens. There still exist many unfair rules, including prohibitions against marriage for women teachers and against affiliation with organizations of their own choice to secure better salaries and working conditions.

School boards of major cities have attempted to enforce rules against teachers running for public office or participating in political campaigns. An Indiana teacher recently elected to Congress was denied a leave of absence from his position.

Bills still pop up in State Legislatures to make it unlawful for teachers to run for public office. Up to

now these proposals have been defeated, but introduction of such bills serves to raise the question in unthinking public opinion.

All teachers have the problem of low salaries. Despite recent increases, teachers' salaries almost everywhere remain below the cost of living. Add to this the fact that 75 per cent of the country's teachers are not under job tenure and you have the major inter-related reasons for the growing shortage of qualified teachers.

PREPARATION for the teaching profession may require four to seven years in college. Then a teaching certificate, often good for a limited time, is issued. But still a job must be found.

If lucky, the teacher obtains a job in a tenure state, where two or three probationary years must be served before tenure is acquired.

But these teachers are the lucky ones. Most teachers have one-year contracts, renewable at the discretion of the school board or superintendent. School staff conditions created by this are known among teachers as "the April jitters."

In some school districts a teacher who is experienced may be fired at any time for any reason during the school year. There is no recourse except to look for another job, often in business or industry.

Veteran teachers with overcrowded classes resent the methods used by

many school administrations in recruiting new teachers. The process is often tedious, drawn-out and cumbersome.

Applicants must wait weeks to take board examinations. Quizzes are written and oral, with the applicant sometimes being subjected to personal questions and psychiatric examination.

One married teacher was rejected in a large school district because she admitted a miscarriage during pregnancy. Examiners wagged their heads and expressed fear that it might have been an abortion.

It is understandable that 35 per cent of teachers' college graduates do not enter teaching. Red tape and old wives' idiosyncrasies that keep graduates out of teaching and cause oldsters to quit have been corrected by the American Federation of Teachers in some areas. But there are 54,000 separate school districts in the country—each a law unto itself.

Things that teachers desire most include the right to join organizations of their own choice and the right to collective bargaining for better salaries and working conditions. Increasingly, our union is effecting such improvements.

Collective bargaining is the only process by which a school administration can establish and maintain relations with the teaching staff as a group, rather than irregularly and individually. (Continued on Page 29)

A REPORT FROM WYOMING

By PAUL D. SHAFTO

President, Wyoming State AFL-CIO

THE Wyoming State Federation of Labor and the Wyoming State Industrial Council merged on June 16, 1956, in a convention held at Casper.

At that time, under the merger agreement, the president of the State Federation of Labor (the present writer) was elected president of the new Wyoming State AFL-CIO. The president of the State Industrial Council, Clyde R. Magill, Sr., was elected first vice-president. E. S. Krusee of the State Industrial Council was named secretary and Frank Perkinson of the State Federation of Labor became treasurer of the new organization. The convention also elected six area vice-presidents.

This year the offices of secretary and treasurer were combined and Frank Perkinson was elected to that position.

Wyoming's labor movement is convinced that the years ahead hold much promise for the workers of our state.

Wyoming has an area of 97,914 square miles and a population of less than four persons per square mile. According to our information, Wyoming has the largest union membership, in proportion to industrial population, of any state. Yet there are many opportunities for organizing the unorganized. The conditions and circumstances are certainly in sharp contrast to those found in the thickly populated industrial areas of the nation's densely populated states.

In visiting the six central labor bodies in Wyoming, one is required to travel over 1,100 miles and even a further distance in visiting and taking care of the needs of our affiliated local unions.

Wyoming labor can boast that, although in a comparative sense it has a limited membership which makes finances a pressing consideration at all times, the state is free of anti-labor laws. "Right to work" has been defeated every time this vicious proposal has been advanced.



PAUL D. SHAFTO

Our state central body had a part in enacting the workmen's compensation law and in getting the state office of Labor Commissioner established. It was through the efforts of organized labor that employment security, child labor, wage payment, minimum wage, occupational safety and many other beneficial laws were enacted in our state.

A great deal remains to be accomplished in the organizational and legislative fields. This is fully recognized by our officers and members. The Wyoming State AFL-CIO regards its goals as a constant challenge and responsibility.

All should understand that organized labor does not seek to make progress at the expense of its neighbors. It desires to make progress with its neighbors. Labor knows that the hopes, aspirations and dreams for a better tomorrow of the American trade unionist are no different from those of his neighbors.

History reminds us forcefully that, when workers are fully employed at a fair wage, the whole community benefits. However, when the workers are unemployed or are working for

substandard wages, not only labor but the entire community suffers.

When the progress of the American wage-earner is retarded by restrictive legislation, the energies of his organization must be devoted to defense measures and self-preservation. When this occurs, labor's ability to contribute to community welfare is reduced, and again the community as a whole suffers.

When the advice and counsel of responsible representatives of labor are ignored in the council chambers of our community and state, while the voices of greedy special interests prevail, not only do the workers suffer; the community and the state are also hurt.

The labor movement of Wyoming believes that what is good for Wyoming is good for labor. Organized labor in Wyoming is dedicated to the constant advancement of the total economy of Wyoming, for it realizes that only in this way can the standards of all the people, including the workers, be raised.

The Wyoming State AFL-CIO, with the assistance and in cooperation with the Department of Education of the national AFL-CIO and the regional organizing office, of which Fred C. Pieper is director, conducted five leadership training schools in five Wyoming cities in 1957. These schools proved very successful.

THROUGH COPE, our political arm, Wyoming labor has played a very successful role. Our state can boast two very able Senators in Joseph C. O'Mahoney and Gale McGee. In returning O'Mahoney to the Senate in 1954, Wyoming labor rallied to his support, and this success pleased labor's forces and their friends throughout the nation.

Last year, in one of the most closely watched and most interesting contests in the country, Wyoming elected Gale McGee, and certainly labor played an important role in this victory. (Continued on Page 31)

Trade Unionist in India

By HARRY POLLAK
AFL-CIO International Representative

THE little taxi with the yellow and black markings wended its way slowly through the heavy traffic of Bombay's back streets as Mohan Das and Raju, my trade union friends, and I sought out the home of Rampyare Sharma, the tram conductor, and his family.

As we rode, I couldn't help thinking that many Indians help to counteract the dreariness of their lives by colorful ceremonies and colorful clothes, the decorated processions for the newly married and the newly dead. But above all there is the sense of numbers, of masses, of many, many people.

No part of the street is untrod. Everywhere there are the clusters of people, the men in their *dhotis* that billow in bedsheets around their legs and the women in their *saris*.

Abruptly the taxi veered down a narrow alley, and Raju motioned me to follow him. We went through a doorway from which the door had been removed and up some wooden stairs, littered with paper, fruit peelings and trash. At one point a small gray rat scurried underfoot and into a hole on the landing.

As we approached a sort of balcony way, surrounded by rooms, Raju said:

"This *chawl* is not the worst you will see in Bombay."

The cries of the little ragged children could now be heard. The strong odor of cooking penetrated everywhere.

Each room overlooked a sort of courtyard where isolated random mounds of refuse could be seen. As we turned into Rampyare's room, Mohan whispered to me:

"Each of these rooms is for an entire family."

The room was about eight feet long and ten feet wide, with a kind of miniature courtyard, where a small stove was going, on which a kettle of water was being heated. A woman in a blue *sari* was squatting



HARRY POLLAK

next to the stove, and a girl of about 8 eyed us shyly as we came in.

Rampyare rose to greet us, and his handshake was strong and firm. He was about six feet tall, a broad-shouldered man, handsome except for the deep scars on his face—the ravages of a long-forgotten smallpox epidemic in his village. He didn't speak English, but Mohan explained he had been learning it and could understand our words.

Rampyare motioned us to sit down, and almost immediately his wife brought tea and cakes.

The room itself was in perfect order. On the neatly lined shelf were books that looked like ledgers. The earthen floor was smoothly swept, and every object seemed to be in its proper place.

Rampyare Hanuman Sharma, we learned, was 36 years old, a tram conductor for the Bombay Supply and Transport Undertaking, owned and operated by the Bombay Municipal Corporation and Electricity Services. He told us that he is not a native of Bombay but comes from the village of Hardi in Uttar Pradesh, a state about 1,000 miles to the north.

He is a typical product of the Hindu joint family system, whereby brothers pool their resources and share their shelters, while the women

cook and do the household chores in common. In many places it was the only way families could survive. The joint family, like the caste system, is still an important aspect of Indian life.

Rampyare was the eldest of three brothers. His family was somewhat better off than most, having ownership of nine acres of good land, two bullocks and a bullock cart, one female buffalo and a small stable. But his home was a mud-walled, thatched hut, with mud flooring and primitively lighted.

The confinement of the village was onerous to him, and he sought his way in the city. When his father sent him to a nearby small town for schooling, Rampyare vowed to go to the great city of Bombay, where boastful friends and relatives had painted their lives in glowing colors and where truly, they insisted, people could make money quickly.

At the same time, in keeping with the Hindu custom of early marriage, he took himself a lovely village bride when he was 15, and he found himself head of a household, with a baby on the way. The family land was already supporting his family and two married brothers.

Rampyare, realizing that this couldn't be extended indefinitely, decided to go to Bombay to seek his fortune.

FOR nearly a year he wandered around aimlessly, lost among the great urban proletariat, vainly seeking work. Unlike the fable of his boyhood, Bombay's streets were not paved with gold.

Rampyare is an exception to the normal situation in that, although he is a member of the working class, he comes from one of the highest caste groups among the Hindus, of an extremely orthodox family.

It was difficult, at first, to adjust himself to the squalor of the Bombay slums. Finally, after a year of drift, he secured a job as a streetcar con-



To work one doesn't have to be an adult or even an older child.

ductor, and from the very first day he was the focus of grievances, a sort of "senior adviser" to the more timid and well on his way to trade union understanding.

When asked why he entered the trade union movement, his answer was not simple. In 1952 Rampyare heard of stark tragedy among his closest relatives in the village. Within six months, five members of his family had died. A nephew died of liver trouble, a sister of the plague, a brother of heart failure and a father from shock because of these deaths. A few weeks later his uncle died of a gastric ailment.

Within six months death had struck brutally and almost wiped out Rampyare's family, and he was now head of the remnants. A tale of woe and sadness more bitter can hardly be told in fiction, but it is not exceptional in India.

For a while Rampyare thought of either becoming a religious *Sadhu* or committing suicide. But he was a firm believer in the Hindu doctrine of *Karma*, which says that humanity reaps its benefits from past deeds.

Rampyare then rationalized his calamities as the fruits of misdeeds committed in a previous existence. To insure that in a future reincarnation he would be spared unhappiness, he must now do good works.

As he told Mohan Das, he decided to enter into "social service," which would—in one stroke—elevate his personality above his unhappy surroundings and allow him to forget, if only for a while, his terrible domestic worries.

At first his "social service" goal brought him to call on political leaders, but these visits were fruitless as the "inner" offices always seemed to be closed to him.

Meanwhile, the inter-union rivalries at the transport company attracted his attention. By his approach, he established himself with his co-workers as a symbol of what the ordinary worker can do with self-confidence and faith in himself. (This is, of course, of extreme importance to the future of Indian trade unionism. There is a great necessity to develop labor leadership from among the rank and file.)

At the company, three unions were struggling for control, and each represented one of the three leading tendencies. One was an INTUC union, whose confederation is close to the ruling Congress party. Another was an HMS union, which is close to the Socialist party. The third was a unit of AITUC, the Indian Communist party's labor arm.

As long as the Communist union was dominant, the two free unions would hastily patch up their differences; they even merged to form a single union, to whose general council Rampyare was elected.

But, as Rampyare explained, he could not accept the idea of the union's involvement with any of the political parties, or to be led by individuals who had no background in the industry. This notion—however well it may have been received by the rank and file—was obnoxious to the union leadership, and he parted company with them.

In a sense, Rampyare has been a kind of "one-man union." He has been issuing many bulletins to the workers of the Tramway Company exhorting them to efforts in their own behalf—in realizing their rights as first-class citizens rather than second-class workers. In one of his bulletins, which he showed us, he declared:

"Today workers are not looked upon with a personal and human identity. They have to be recognized as a part of a 'class' or 'ticket number' in a factory or workshop, or as a person belonging to a particular province, language or caste.

"Secondly, the worker is thrust upon with certain characters such as incompetence to handle his own problems, due to illiteracy, poverty, etc. He is not considered fit enough or equal enough to stand before even a junior officer of management, and certainly he is looked upon as unfit to claim equality before his own trade union leader.

"Thus workers, being poor, illiterate and ignorant, are considered to be unfit, and therefore always need someone outside to assist them. Because of their present qualities, it is said, they will promptly lose their service if they did anything on their own. Are these things true?"

FOR Rampyare the answer is a resounding no. He rejects the notion that illiteracy must first be overcome before the workers of India can organize on their own behalf.

As he explained:

"The slogan about illiteracy is false. Illiteracy does not mean lack of common sense and wisdom. Many illiterate peasants owning lands engage costly lawyers to go to a court of law when their interests are affected. They are very conscious of their rights and know how to preserve these rights.

"Yet when it comes to trade union work, illiterate workers are supposed to be helpless. In the trade union field, too, workers could engage the paid services of lawyers, economists, etc., as their servants and not their masters, but this is not the case now."

In Indian industry thousands of grievances exist which do not find solution because the grievance procedure has not been worked out in the way that it exists in, say, the United States or Britain. Rampyare, therefore, has acted as a goad of management and the workers to see that such grievances are resolved.

Sometimes there will be a charge that a worker has accepted fees for obtaining leave for a co-worker; another time he will berate management for refusing the traditional pay advance before festival days. Wherever there is an inequity, Rampyare Sharma stands ready to proclaim the

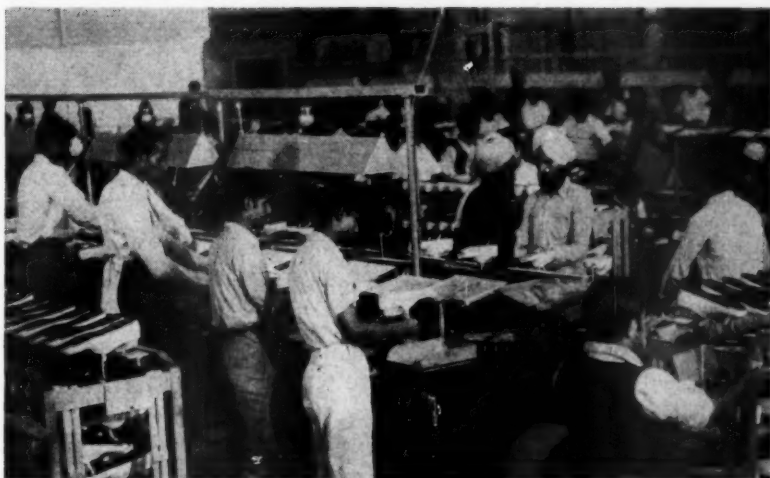
injustice, as he sees it, to the world.

It seemed to a friendly observer, which I considered that I was, that Indian trade unionism will have to develop many more Rampyares. One of the difficulties which beset it now is its failure to develop second- and third-line leadership and rank and file participation in the unions. There is, therefore, a lack of free trade union organizers coming originally from the industry.

What results very often is union dependence for financial support upon political parties, employers and other outside sources.

Rampyare Sharma, acting alone, is an isolated element, a prophet with honor perhaps but with few resources and—what is more important—no strong connection with an overall trade union that can link him to the millions of other unionists.

To me Rampyare Sharma was a living symbol of what can be developed from the Indian working class.



Indian unionists must develop leaders who are working people themselves.

There are definite signs now that the democratic union movement—the INTUC and the HMS—is in fact seeking ways to train union leaders in the face of great gains by the Communists' labor arm, the AITUC.

After traveling rather widely in India, talking to many Indian workers, particularly Rampyare Sharma, I am convinced that democratic labor in that very important country has some excellent raw material today.

Algerian Leader's Death Angers Labor

SHOCK and grief at the death in a French military hospital in Algeria of Aissat Idir, secretary of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA), was expressed by the AFL-CIO last month in a cablegram sent by President George Meany to J. H. Oldenbroek, general secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The ICFTU has asked the United Nations to direct its Commission on Human Rights to investigate this case. Mr. Meany's message called for a commission of inquiry and punishment of "those guilty of behavior leading to the death of our trade union colleague." Idir, after his acquittal by a military court, was detained illegally until his death.

The ICFTU has submitted a complaint against the French government to the International Labor Organization. France is charged with infringement of the freedom of association and of the right to organize and bargain collectively.

The ICFTU's complaint to the ILO noted "the contradictory explanations given by the authorities for the injuries suffered by Aissat Idir" and urged an impartial investigation into the cause of the labor leader's death

"in view of the severe measures of isolation to which he was subjected."

Before his trial the Algerian labor leader had been detained in concentration camps for more than two and a half years.

"All restrictive measures taken by the French authorities against the UGTA and its affiliated organizations," the ICFTU told the ILO, "constitute, in effect, a suspension by administrative authority of these organizations and are therefore in contradiction to Article 4 of Convention 87."

In its letter to the United Nations, the ICFTU said the facts in this case "obviously constitute a flagrant violation of Article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulating that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."

Four days after Idir's acquittal and new detention he suffered severe burns, the ICFTU said, and this "justifies the suspicion of foul play, particularly in view of the further fact that the authorities prevented any contact with him for many weeks and gave different and conflicting versions of the reason for his transfer to a military hospital."

Mr. Meany, in his message to the ICFTU, recalled that American labor had always championed the closest friendship and cooperation between the French and American peoples.

"In this spirit," he declared, "we call upon President de Gaulle to recognize the grave implication of Idir's tragic death and to put the full weight of his great moral authority and political prestige into assuring prompt action to end the war in Algeria by negotiating a just and honorable peace with the heroic Algerian forces fighting for national independence of their country. Only such forthright action can end the situation in Algeria which, if continued, might endanger democracy, decency and justice in France itself."

The ICFTU-affiliated organization in France, Force Ouvrière, has seen the Minister for Algeria and insisted that a full investigation be made and information published on the circumstances which led to Idir's death.

The ICFTU has sent a circular to all affiliated organizations calling on them to give public expression to their indignation and to protest to the French embassies.

The ICFTU has dispatched 100,000 francs to assist Mrs. Idir.

Health Delayed Is Health Denied

By NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK
Director, AFL-CIO Department of Social Security

THE absence of protection against heavy medical costs is today the greatest gap in the security of our older citizens.

Our members want to obtain social insurance for the cost of medical care as a matter of right, just as they are now receiving old-age and survivors' benefits as a matter of right without application of the means test.

Our members want high-quality health care both before and after retirement.

They are becoming increasingly acquainted with the nature and value of modern medical services. Thanks to the growth of unions in the last twenty-five years, the majority of wage-earners are now in a position to express effectively a demand for adequate, first-rate care which in earlier years was only faintly expressed and too easily ignored.

The AFL-CIO favors extensive improvements in public assistance and in public medical care for people who have no other way of obtaining it, but we do not consider these programs a substitute for social insurance.

The federal government has long been concerned with health problems. The United States Public Health Service traces its beginning back to 1798 when the new national government assumed responsibility for hospitals for seamen.

Tremendous contributions have been made to research as well as actual care of sick people by the National Institutes of Health, the veterans' hospitals, the military hospitals, the maternal and child welfare programs, the emergency medical and infant care program of World War II and the Medicare program.

When those opposed to proposals



NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK

such as those in the Forand bill express fear that the federal government cannot properly administer health benefits for the aged, let us remember that the American Medical Association and the life insurance companies and others followed a similar line back in 1935 with respect to our social security program.

They said it would be impossible for the federal government to administer old-age benefits and keep wage records for so many people. This was "socialism" and it would mean "dog tags" for every citizen, threatening everyone's independence!

A similar cry was raised in 1956, but Congress wisely discounted it in enacting disability benefits. The Eisenhower Administration opposed that measure and fought it vigorously, yet today this same Administration boasts of the accomplishments under this part of the social security program.

We believe the evidence on the

inevitable shortcomings of private insurance amply indicates the need for federal action. The problem is not whether the federal government can constructively administer health benefits for the aged and other beneficiaries but rather what are the best methods by which it can once again provide a channel for the American people to do together what they cannot do for themselves individually.

The Forand bill has many wise provisions that should allay fears of government controls. It provides for an advisory council to be consulted in the development of regulations under the general powers given to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Such an advisory council would presumably be supplemented where necessary by direct consultation with spokesmen for such organizations as the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association and the American Nurses Association.

THE bill also permits the Secretary to make use of voluntary non-profit organizations to the extent that he determines "that such utilization will contribute to the effective and economical administration of this section." The organizations utilized might be some of the present Blue Cross associations, for example, or possibly a new group established by the hospitals. This provision should appeal to persons who honestly believe private groups can better run programs of this kind than the government can.

The program would not impose one pattern nor provide services directly. It would merely pay for the costs of care rendered by a wide variety of institutions, owned and run by many

types of groups or by private doctors. Group practice prepayment plans, such as cooperatives and labor health centers, could be utilized by patients, as could any providers of services who were willing to accept the obligations and standards of the program.

The Forand bill does not give the federal government authority to tell doctors how to carry on their medical practice. In the case of hospitals, it contains the following paragraph:

"No supervision or control over the details of administration or operation or over the selection, tenure or compensation of personnel shall be exercised under the authority of this section over any hospital or nursing home which has entered into an agreement under this section."

The major responsibility for developing standards should continue to rest with the various health professions, including the hospital administrators. But insofar as they are not able to fulfill their responsibility alone, the federal government may need to backstop their efforts with specifications for the care it purchases, just as it now draws up specifications before it buys drugs or hospital beds.

IT IS tragic that the leaders of the American Medical Association seek to fight the Forand bill through a public relations campaign instead of helping us to explore constructive methods of meeting the need toward which the bill is directed. The AMA has had a way of expending millions on public relations instead of discharging fully its responsibility for advancing the quality of care.

Spokesmen for the American Medical Association last year said that "any federal supervision of medicine and hospital care is socialization." On questioning, they explained that the various veterans' programs fell within the definition of socialized medicine, and also the armed services' medical care program.

Workmen's compensation programs, they stated, do so "to a certain extent also." The federal disability insurance program was considered very definitely to be leaning toward socialized medicine.

If all these programs are properly designated as socialized medicine, then not only the camel's nose but at least part of his hump is now within the tent. Close to half of all hos-

pital care in this country is financed from tax sources, and this is also true of many other programs.

Rather than indulging in slogans, we believe it desirable to evaluate specific procedures in terms of clear-cut need, common experience and prospective benefits.

The trend for decades has been in the direction of growing community interest in health programs, translated into various types of government action. The public interest, expressed through government, is bound to keep on increasing as more and more people add good health care to their standard of living. In many states the insurance commissioners are directly involved because of their responsibility for passing upon increases in rates by groups like Blue Cross. The commissioners are finding that they must look into types of expenditures, methods of determining rates and even representation on Blue Cross boards, in order to carry out their functions properly.

Through the years a variety of plans has been suggested for utilizing federal funds for health care of the aged. Some have been shaped in the hope of avoiding any close contacts between the federal government and the hospitals. But is it not probable that any form of federal action likely to be developed and adopted by Congress will have to carry safeguards concerned with honest and efficient use of funds and the maintenance of at least minimum service standards? The men and women who are in



Congressman Forand of Rhode Island is author of the bill labor supports.

their declining years have earned a better deal than they are getting. They have lived through a very difficult period characterized by depressions, wars and tremendous changes in economic and social conditions. It is no wonder if many of them have not been able to provide individually for incomes in their retirement years that are adequate to pay for steeply increased medical costs as well as other higher-priced necessities.

As has long been said, justice delayed is justice denied. It is even more true that health delayed is health denied. The problems of the aged are acute. Congress should act on the Forand bill early next year.

Senior citizens aren't getting the health care they need and deserve.



THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL WELFARE MANPOWER

By LEO PERLIS

Director, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities

A CRITICAL shortage of professionally trained social workers exists in America today. Currently, less than 2,000 students are graduated annually. If our graduate schools of social work were to graduate 12,000 students each year for the next five years, the need would only begin to be met.

The "help wanted" signs posted at this nation's social welfare agencies threaten the very core of our social services, because a social agency is much more than a building, a set of files and an operating budget. An agency is people and it serves people, so that when there is an unfilled case worker's chair, there are resultant unmet human needs.

This acute lack of social welfare manpower is the target at which AFL-CIO Community Service Activities has aimed its "one per cent for scholarships" priority program, whereby united funds and community chests would set aside one per cent of the funds raised to be used for scholarships in social work.

The one per cent plan is a novel and perhaps even daring proposal. But when the extent of the problem is considered, the traditional approach has little chance of success.

Take, for example, just the field of rehabilitation. An additional 600 rehabilitation counselors will be needed annually from this year on to work with such disabled groups as the blind, deaf and mentally retarded. An additional 3,500 physical therapists are needed by hospitals alone. At the same time, current needs for medical and psychiatric social workers total about 3,600 annually.

These statistics, which were recently released by the National Health Education Committee, apply only to rehabilitation, but they would serve equally as a pattern for the need in other areas of social welfare.



LEO PERLIS

The manpower problem in social work is further complicated by the fact that the student in graduate school needs more than the customary "tuition only" type of scholarship grant. A recent study conducted by the Council on Social Work Education reveals that 90 per cent of our social work graduate students are over the age of 25 and that 71 per cent are married. Most have financial responsibilities above and beyond mere personal subsistence, and the majority do not fit the "college kid, living at home" picture.

Add this to the long-standing fact that social workers have not received the recognition, respect and remuneration they deserve, and the roots of the problem are exposed. Unless a remedy is found for this ill, newcomers to the social work ranks will become fewer.

AFL-CIO Community Services believes the one per cent proposal would prove a sound beginning. From a financial standpoint, one per cent of all funds raised by community chests and united funds last fall amounts to more than \$4,000,000—a sum that

could accomplish much if used for social work scholarships.

Money alone, however, will not do the job. For this reason, CSA's one per cent plan calls for citizens' committees at the local level to determine policies and procedures for the granting of scholarships. It also proposes that these citizens' groups work through their local welfare planning councils in cooperation with local school systems. In addition, it urges that the citizens' committees work closely with universities and schools of social work.

These citizen bodies, through their activities in local communities, could help to bring about public understanding of social welfare's unique problems and could also serve as the vehicle through which America's social worker would at long last come into his own in terms of the three R's—recognition, respect and remuneration.

Social work's personnel shortage is a challenge to voluntary fund-raising agencies, which finance our voluntary social services. In part, too, it is the responsibility of government for public welfare. All in all, however, it is the obligation of the total community to recognize the significance of social work in our changing society.

Today's prevailing emphasis on the physical sciences should not be allowed to work to the detriment of our social sciences. Indeed, we need engineers, physicists and chemists. But the bridge to a raging heart is just as important as a bridge over a raging river.

Through nuclear-powered submarines, satellites, jets and rockets, we are striving to reach the depths of the ocean and the heights of the sky. It is no less important to strive to reach the depths of the human heart and heights of the human mind.



PRESIDENT MEANY

George Meany's Labor Day Message

▶They have come out for a wage freeze, forming a solid wall of opposition to any further economic gains by the workers of this country. The steel strike, forced upon 500,000 steelworkers and their families, epitomizes this new form of economic pressure.

▶They have undertaken an all-out campaign of high-powered deception to prevail upon Congress to enact restrictive anti-labor laws in the name of accomplishing labor reform.

▶They have financed at the state level a blistering bombardment to undermine the security of trade unions through adoption of the misnamed "right to work" laws.

These developments are not haphazard or unconnected. They didn't just happen spontaneously. They have been carefully planned and deliberately organized and heavily financed by the big business interests which are determined to cut down the power of organized labor.

That power has been a power for good for the people of our country. It has enabled the workers of America to gain for themselves the highest standard of living prevailing anywhere in the world. It has created the mass markets which have made industry and the farmers prosperous. It has made it possible for the great majority of the people of this country to live in decent homes, to send their children to school and to enjoy some measure of economic and social security.

Are the workers of this country willing to submit tamely to the forfeiture of these gains? Or are they ready to stand up together again, as their forefathers did in the old days, and fight for the preservation of their rights and their trade unions?

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations doesn't have to take a Gallup Poll to obtain the answer to those questions.

We know from direct contact with the members of our unions and the leaders of those unions that they are

ready to meet the challenge head-on.

In that knowledge, the AFL-CIO Executive Council chartered a program of action:

1. We have officially proclaimed this Labor Day to be "Support the Steelworkers Day" so that the 13,500,000 members of our federation and their friends will be able to demonstrate their complete solidarity with the embattled Steelworkers. To make that support concrete, the General Board of the AFL-CIO will hold a special meeting in San Francisco on September 18. At that meeting a definite program will be drawn up to mobilize the maximum organizational, financial and moral support of the entire AFL-CIO to insure victory for the Steelworkers. Once that victory is won, the whole wall of resistance erected by big business against further wage increases will crumble.

2. We have determined that we will have to organize for political education and political action in the same thorough and painstaking way that we organized in the past for economic purposes.

THIS program will take time and patience and hard work and money. But it is our only hope for the resumption of progress in the future.

We want the American people to understand that labor is entering upon the political battleground with reluctance. If we had any other recourse, we would be happy to stay out of politics. But our enemies have chosen to weaken the trade union movement through restrictive legislation so that it will be rendered ineffective at the bargaining table.

To remain true to our trust, to fulfill the responsibilities that the workers of this country have delegated to their unions, labor must fight back in the political arena. We intend to use every legal weapon we have, including the right of every citizen to engage in politics, to regain the ground we have lost.

In this effort education will play a

LABOR DAY was created as a day of dedication rather than one of celebration. The pioneers who founded the trade union movement had precious little to celebrate back in 1882. The unions of those days were weak, impoverished and the targets of constant harassment by employers. It took a brave man, a man with deep loyalty and plenty of fighting spirit, to join a union and stand by his union under the oppressive conditions that prevailed before the turn of the century.

Today the trade union movement needs above all a rebirth of that fortitude and resolution which enabled Sam Gompers and his associates to lead a parade of progress for humanity unparalleled in human history.

They fought and won despite open warfare by employers and handicaps so great as to make their ultimate victory almost miraculous.

Today labor faces another kind of warfare—a cold war deliberately invoked against the whole trade union movement by the big business interests of the nation.

The spokesmen for these interests—such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce—pay lip service, of course, to the undeniable fact that unions have done a great deal to improve the American way of life and that unions are therefore here to stay.

But at the same time big business leaders are doing everything in their power to weaken and destroy our trade union movement.

Let me cite three major examples:

key part. Against the unscrupulous and deceptive propaganda unleashed against us by the opposition, we must rely on the power of truth.

We need not go beyond the facts and the record to prove our case.

The record shows that the AFL-CIO favors and supports the strongest possible law to drive the crooks and racketeers out of the labor-management field. The record shows that state and local authorities have failed to enforce existing laws against the criminal activities of these racketeers.

The record shows that under guise of federal legislation against corruption, big business has sought to prohibit legitimate union activities such as organizational picketing and secondary boycotts.

The record shows that the AFL-CIO has demonstrated its integrity by expelling member organizations found

to be dominated by corrupt influences and by establishing strict codes of ethical practice for all affiliated unions and their officers.

The record shows that no business organization has ever taken such stringent action despite the fact that the frauds and embezzlements perpetrated by business and banking executives make the transgressions committed by a few labor officials look like petty larceny.

The record shows that big business has tried to fool the public by masquerading its legislative attempts to destroy union security under the false front of "right to work" laws.

The record shows that these laws, now in force in nineteen states, have not granted the right to a job to a single worker; that they have not improved the economic status of a single worker; that their one and only pur-

pose is to outlaw the union shop.

Once the American people fully understand these facts, the massive anti-labor campaign instigated by big business will founder and collapse.

We have our work cut out for us. The opposition possesses unlimited resources and controls the main channels of communication with the public. They have a host of soft-soap artists at their command, skilled in distorting the truth and inventing artificial propaganda slogans designed to mislead the public.

But we have on our side the strength of numbers and the power of truth. If we use them, we will win.

On this Labor Day the trade union movement, with the willing support of the decent working men and women who make up its loyal membership, pledges to work and fight until we do win.

Gotham Sees Biggest Labor Parade Since '39

NEARLY 115,000 proud members of AFL-CIO unions marched up Fifth Avenue in a great Labor Day parade that lasted more than eight hours and was viewed by half a million spectators. Members of more than 500 locals were represented. The marchers were accompanied by 120 bands which kept the air filled with a wide variety of music, from the old union songs to current jazz.

The spirit of confidence and determination of the parading trade

unionists faced directly the attacks now being made on labor. Banners denounced the so-called labor reform law, called the Steelworkers' strike "every worker's fight" and reaffirmed the intention of union members to keep fighting for ever higher living standards, real civil rights and better communities.

The largest representation in New York's mightiest labor parade in two decades was that of the Ladies' Garment Workers, with 21,270 marchers.

Right behind them came Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which had 19,968 taking part.

The paraders were saluted from the reviewing stand in front of the New York Public Library by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, representatives of the three major faiths and a number of presidents of national and international unions.

A great labor tradition is reestablished in New York City as 115,000 proud union members parade up Fifth Avenue.



William Schnitzler's Labor Day Message

LABOR BUILDS for the future. It can never complacently accept the status quo. The entire history of labor is the story of a movement marching forward. On this Labor Day, American labor is writing new history. For today the labor movement is driving ahead toward a new goal—the establishment of health and hospitalization insurance for the older men and women of our country.

Already we are encountering bitter opposition. The American Medical Association, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce are up in arms against the proposal. These and other reactionary organizations have consistently resisted every bit of progress ever accomplished for the benefit of the American people. We find them at the same time lending strong support to legislation to cripple the effectiveness of the trade union movement. They want to tie labor hand and foot.

But the trade union movement will not be deterred. We know where we are going. We are sure of our ground. We are convinced that the great majority of the American people support us in our efforts to make their lives happier and more rewarding.

Every once in a while we read about explorers discovering jungle tribes who kill their older people. We shudder at such barbaric practices. But from their point of view it is kinder to kill than to let the aging die a slow death from starvation and illness.

In our own country it was only a quarter-century ago that we established social security. Before that, impoverished elderly people had to depend on private charity or go to the poorhouse to live out their days.

It is hard to believe now that anyone could oppose social security. But we had to overcome tremendous obstacles to put it across. It was denounced as a socialistic dole. We were warned that if people could retire on government-insured pensions after their working days were over, it

would destroy private insurance companies.

Now, after twenty-five years, Uncle Sam is still doing business at the same old free enterprise stand. The private insurance companies have prospered beyond their wildest dreams. And the American people are immeasurably better off as the result of the social security system.

In recent years medical science has found new ways to prolong human life. It is predicted that antibiotics, vaccines, improved surgical techniques and other discoveries will increase the life span of the average American citizen far beyond the Biblical threescore and ten.

But what good are these advances in the healing arts when they are priced beyond the financial reach of retired workers?

Take a retired couple who have saved some money during their working years and are now enjoying a modest income over and above social security payments. They plan for a reasonably comfortable and dignified old age. But if one or both become sick, bills for doctors, hospitals, drugs and appliances can add up in a short time to thousands of dollars. Their whole foundation for retirement is swept away. For fear of such loss, many couples postpone seeking medical attention until too late, with tragic results.

Surely we in America can do better than that.

The AFL-CIO has proposed a plan. It calls for the inclusion in our social security system of a health insurance program for those who have retired. It is simple, inclusive and practical. The plan has been incorporated in the Forand bill.

When the bill was first introduced the American Medical Association and its reactionary allies immediately set up a cry of "socialized medicine." It is nothing of the kind.

Significantly, when pressed for an alternative, spokesmen for the AMA had only one suggestion—private insurance plans. Yet it is only a few



SECRETARY SCHNITZLER

years since the AMA was denouncing private health insurance plans as "socialized medicine."

If private insurance companies could handle the problem adequately, we would not object. But they have failed.

Whether non-profit or commercial, the private insurance plans have the built-in disadvantage of relying upon current payments by the aged themselves to give them coverage. This makes the insurance far too costly. Even where some departure from this approach is attempted, as through policies paid up at age 65, the resultant costs are so high that protection must be severely limited, and most-elderly persons are subjected to the inescapable risk of having to pay heavy medical bills which drain their resources.

What private insurance companies cannot do, the American people can easily do together for themselves. It will take only a slight increase in social security taxes to pay for health insurance for the aged. In the long run, everyone will benefit from this protection.

This is an issue of major importance. The opposition is strong and deeply entrenched. The Forand bill faces a hard row in Congress. But no matter how long it takes, labor is in this fight to the finish. We know from experience that progress always comes the hard way, and we will not shrink from the challenge.

It is our hope that we can make a living reality out of the prophetic lines of the poet Robert Browning:

*Grow old along with me,
The best is yet to be.*

The Death of a Union

By CHARLES C. WEBBER

*AFL-CIO Representative
for Religious Relations*

THE scene of the tragedy was Henry County, Virginia, and Martinsville, the county seat, a tobacco growing and processing and industrial area in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

During the first four decades of this century the feudal aristocracy of this part of the Old Dominion, closely aligned with the developing Byrd machine, encouraged the establishment of furniture, textile, clothing and paper industries and succeeded in making the area a furniture center second only to Grand Rapids, Michigan.

They also persuaded Marshall Field and Company of Chicago, the Standard Garments, Inc., of Baltimore, and the DuPonts to erect large subsidiary plants, employing thousands of workers.

Trade union organizers were taboo. By utilizing terroristic tactics, the feudal lords and their hirelings fought the United Furniture Workers, the Textile Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers so vigorously that by 1943 there was not a single union of any kind in the area.

During 1943 organizers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in spite of threats to their lives, denials of meeting places, discharges and opposition of the clergy, succeeded in organizing a local union among the 40-cent-an-hour employees of the Jobbers Pants Company, a subsidiary of Standard Garments, Inc.

And after eleven months of organizational activity, on December 16, 1943, they and the workers won a National Labor Relations Board election by a majority of two votes. A breach had been made in the wall of one of the Byrd machine's citadels. But only a breach.

Almost thirteen months went by before the company signed a contract with Local 456 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—a contract com-



CHARLES C. WEBBER

plying with the War Labor Board's order by raising the wage rate to 55 cents an hour, retroactive to March 24, 1944, and providing for a 50-cent minimum, one week's paid vacation, a grievance committee procedure, a seniority system, four hours of reporting time pay and arbitration of all disputes.

There was great rejoicing at the union hall on March 23, 1945, for on that day, thanks to the union, approximately 600 Jobbers Pants Company workers received back pay checks totaling over \$100,000 or an average of \$175 per worker.

One year later, when the company refused to renew the contract until all employees had an opportunity to vote on the designation of a collective bargaining agency, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers won again. This time the vote was 688 for the union and 319 against.

Martinsville's anti-union fascism thus met with another defeat.

However, it was not until October 21, 1946, that the Jobbers Pants Company, under union pressure, announced a new piece-rate pay schedule enabling workers to earn up to 75 cents an hour.

Encouraged by the success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in organizing the Jobbers Pants Company, the employees of the furniture plants, the knitting and textile mills and the fiberboard container company joined the United Furniture Workers, the Textile Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers and the United Paper Workers.

The representatives of the Furniture Workers then secured signed union contracts with several Martinsville furniture companies—contracts which raised the average wage of 1,300 furniture workers from 44 cents an hour to 67 cents an hour, an increase of \$460 a year, and in addition gave them a checkoff agreement, a grievance committee procedure, a seniority system, six paid holidays, a one-week paid vacation for one to five years of service and a two-week vacation after five years of employment.

ORGANIZED labor, by its activities in Martinsville and Henry County in 1943, 1944, 1945 and 1946, was thus able to claim credit for helping make it possible for more than 2,200 workers to spend over \$1,000,000 a year more on the necessities and comforts of life than in 1942.

In addition, the trade union leaders, by stimulating their members to become local union officials and shop stewards, to pay their poll taxes, to register and to vote, brought about a greater measure of industrial and political democracy in one of the strongholds of the Byrd machine.

The development of unionism in Martinsville and Henry County and in other sections of Virginia, accompanied as it was by an ever increasing interest in industrial and political democracy, alarmed the machine.

A Byrd-Tuck so-called "right to work" law was proposed. It had the vigorous opposition of all segments

of the labor movement, but the misnamed proposal became law on January 21, 1947.

Section 40-69 of the "right to work" law states:

"Any agreement or combination between any employer and any labor union or labor organization whereby persons not members of such union or organization shall be denied the right to work for the employer, or whereby such membership is made a condition of employment or continuation of employment by such employer, or whereby any such union or organization acquires an employment monopoly in any enterprise, is hereby declared to be against public policy and an illegal combination or conspiracy."

Section 40-70 declares:

"No persons shall be required by an employer to become or remain a member of any labor union or labor organization as a condition of employment or continuation of employment by such employer."

The enactment of the Virginia "right to work" law did not completely satisfy the leaders of the Byrd machine. The machine's members in Congress voted for the repeal of the Wagner Act, labor's Magna Carta, and for the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act.

By August of 1947, when Congress by overriding President Truman's veto had made Taft-Hartley the law of the land, the stage was set for a renewed attack, with new anti-union weapons, upon organized labor in Virginia and in other parts of the South.

Shortly after the adoption of the Virginia "right to work" law in January of 1947, the superintendent of the Jobbers Pants Company began refusing to settle grievances and to abide by other contract provisions. The checkoff of union dues was not allowed.

Prominent citizens closely allied with the company officials appealed to the union members to desert their organization.

When the contract expired on November 22, 1947, the company officials, taking advantage of a provision in Taft-Hartley, refused to renew.

The union representatives asked for a consent election. This was refused.

On August 13, 1948, the National Labor Relations Board ordered an election on September 24, 1948. On

August 23, the company announced a 5 per cent wage increase, in spite of an NLRB ruling against the granting of wage increases before a Board-ordered election.

During the week preceding the September 24 NLRB election, foreladies parked their cars in front of the union hall so that they might see what workers attended the union meetings.

Company officials had the power sewing machines stopped and then they harangued their captive audience with anti-union diatribes.

The company superintendent was quoted as saying that if the union won, the company was not going to rent the \$100,000 plants owned by the Martinsville Negroes.

The day before the election, the president of the Henry County Realty Corporation, which owned the \$100,000 plants, passed out a "WARNING! BEWARE!" handbill to approximately 600 women workers—a handbill in which the union leaders were characterized as "troublemakers only interested in their jobs" and in which the workers were urged to "vote to keep the factory open and not to close it."

Overwhelmed by the barrage of anti-union propaganda and fearful of losing their jobs, 538 workers voted against the union and only 296 for it.

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers filed objections to the conduct of the election. On January 7, 1949, over three months later, the NLRB regional director issued a report finding that the employer had improperly influenced the election and recommending that the Board set the election aside and order a new election.

On August 31, 1949, eleven months after the election, the NLRB set it aside and a new election was ordered held on October 25, 1949—thirteen months almost to a day from the 1948 election.

Representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the officers of Local 456 again put in weeks of calling at the homes of the workers, but the company officials and the president of the Henry County Realty Corporation, aided and abetted by the anti-union climate created in part by the "right to work" law and the Taft-Hartley Act, succeeded in causing 506 workers to vote against the union. Only 255 workers were

able to resist the threats, the intimidation and the coercion and vote for the union.

Immediately after this defeat, the union filed affidavits charging that undue influence had been exerted by company agents prior to the election.

The NLRB field examiner was impressed by the affidavits and indicated that he thought the Board would order the election set aside and a third election held—an election in which the company officials might become in contempt of court if they repeated their anti-union actions.

These opinions aroused false hope. On February 3, 1950, the regional director of the Board ruled against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Virginia representatives of the union were informed that the general counsel of the NLRB had refused to process the case before the Board itself.

The six-year-old Amalgamated Local 456 was dead! Killed by economic threats and vicious anti-union propaganda—propaganda aided and abetted by the psychological impact of the anti-union provisions of the Virginia "right to work" law and the Taft-Hartley Act.

The national representative of the Amalgamated who had spent almost a year of his life in Martinsville and the other representatives who had spent even longer were compelled to close up the union hall and send the local union's charter back to the national office.

Local 456 was dead. The members no longer had a union grievance committee or the arbitration of disputes. No longer did they have the opportunity of developing their leadership ability by serving the local as officers, as shop stewards and as chairmen of the education and political action committees.

Local 456 was dead—and there has not been a resurrection to this day.

Since the passage of the Virginia "right to work" law and the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, all the unions in Martinsville—with the exception of a small Papermakers and Paperworkers local—have been liquidated. The United Furniture Workers' local has gone out of existence, as have the ILGWU and the TWUA locals.

In consequence the leaders of the Byrd machine in that area can once more boast that they are firmly in the saddle and that organized labor

is impotent—virtually without any economic or political strength.

Further evidence as to what so-called "right to work" has done to labor organizations in Virginia is to be found in a recent letter to the author of this article from President H. B. Boyd of the Virginia State AFL-CIO.

"We have been informed," he writes, "of several cases where employees were told that they need not

belong to the union as Virginia had a 'right to work' law.

"We are also aware of local unions which were rather large prior to the enactment of this law, but their membership has dwindled considerably, and some companies which now refuse to sign a dues checkoff do so to weaken the local union, and the members of the union are later informed that the non-members will receive all the benefits of the union members

regardless of their maintaining their membership."

The killing of local unions by economic and political weapons makes it imperative for the leaders and members of organized labor to redouble their efforts to organize the unorganized as well as the already organized into effective instrumentalities for economic and political action to achieve the greatest good of the greatest number.



FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

No Backward Steps

From Steel Labor

Most editorialists have been having a field day in recent weeks citing statistics, always generously provided by ever-willing industry, designed to show how much the United Steelworker member has dropped in "lost wages."

Occasionally you'll see tonnage figures to show what the industry has forfeited in lost production. These paper statistics always make good reading, but they seldom make good sense.

The truth of the matter is that, the way the steel industry was stockpiling materials back a few months ago, with or without an industry-fomented shutdown there would have been tons of materials on hand. There are few of us who believe that this situation would have lent itself to full employment.

So it is reasonable to assume that the profit-bulging industry would prefer a total shutdown—such as it has imposed—rather than follow through with partial operations which naturally would be more costly.

The United Steelworkers cannot be blamed for creating this stockpile of steel. But we are at fault if we don't recognize the true union-busting purposes behind all this propaganda. Big business is pulling out all stops to convince the public that organized labor, particularly the United Steelworkers, is responsible for the crippling economic chaos which has hit the nation.

Don't fall for this bunk. If our fathers and grandfathers had tumbled for these phony arguments, we wouldn't enjoy the working conditions and the benefits that we have today.

No reasonable citizen will fail to recognize that the steel industry, supported by big business interests, wanted this shutdown. They forced the United Steelworkers out into the streets on the pretext of holding the line against inflation.

We and the nation know better. Organized labor is fighting for its very life. We are the front line of defense, and we have pledged no backward steps.

Radiation Safety

From The Laborer

The results of the nuclear age have by no means been all unmixed blessings. Some of the consequences have created new and critical problems. One of these problems is that of radiation safety.

Working with the highly radioactive substances of the nuclear age poses many situations in which safety has to be more than a casual matter. Safety procedures and practices are matters of life and death.

The construction unions have a higher than average understanding of the importance of safety on the job. Our people who work in the building industry know that safety is basic to sound and successful operations. Our calling's indoctrination in safety is a useful attribute in this day when new and highly dangerous situations confront workmen.

Safety on the job in atomic construction poses no new problems, but maintenance and operations do. Running the nuclear industrial plants and properly maintaining them bring a host of new safety problems. And one of the most hazardous is the disposal of atomic wastes. This is a brand-new problem, the like of which we have never before faced.

Sound reasons for tightening up on procedures have been advanced to Congressional committees by the representatives of labor. Suggestions on workmen's compensation and other legislation are also being advanced. We know that the arguments merit the most searching and earnest consideration and understanding. Health, welfare and even lives depend on the answers to the questions raised. We hope the answers are the right ones and the safe ones.

Medical Care for Aged

From Electrical Workers' Journal

Sometime in 1960, Congress will be voting on the Forand bill, H.R. 4700, the bill so strongly endorsed by the AFL-CIO, which will provide low-cost health insurance for Americans in their old age.

A great hue and cry about the bill has gone up from the same old sources—the American Medical Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the insurance companies of our nation and the like. These are the same organizations that some two and a half decades ago were condemning the social security bill and holding out dire threats of socialism. They lost the battle against social security because Congress had the good sense and courage to pass the bill over their opposition.

Cost of medical insurance for the aged is so high that the average elderly person cannot afford it. A slight increase in social security taxes will pay for this protection for them, and in the long run all will benefit.

Start now to work for passage of the Forand bill. It faces a stiff fight in Congress, but this is a fight we can win. Let's accept the challenge here and now.

The Union Shop

From Firemen and Oilers' Journal

The union shop is not an encroachment upon individual liberty. It is an extension of democracy into the industrial community. During the early days of Taft-Hartley, when union shop elections were conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, better than 95 per cent of the elections favored the union shop.

"Right to work" laws are anti-union measures designed to thwart the normal aspirations of working people. They silence the views of the worker by denying him the type of union agreement he prefers.

His right to bargain freely is to a degree destroyed, and in the realm of union security a maximum is established.

If the employee's right to the type of union security measure he prefers in his contract is prevented by law, anti-labor forces can succeed in regulating other parts of the contract, such as wages, vacations, holidays, etc. Through such legislation they can deny employees the free collective bargaining which is the wellspring of his improved position in American society.

Let us not destroy, through class legislation, the priceless heritage of our democracy and the right of working people to enjoy the full fruits of free collective bargaining.

A Clean Bakers' Union Grows

By DANIEL E. CONWAY
*President, American Bakery and
Confectionery Workers International Union*

IN THE short space of twenty months, the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, AFL-CIO, has become the dominant force in the organized bakery and confectionery industry.

In addition, it is Exhibit A for the American labor movement to present to the public—the success of a clean-up in a situation which had given that movement harmful publicity and added grist to the mill of those who are anti-labor.

When last I reported to the readers of this magazine, our union had been chartered for only seven months.

I pointed out then, and I believe it bears repetition, that the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union is the legitimate heir to the long and glorious history, traditions and principles of those who had dedicated and sacrificed their lives in the building of an honest union for the workers in the bakery and confectionery industry.

Those who had violated the traditions and principles of an honored union had brazenly asserted their illegitimacy. They were expelled from the AFL-CIO at the second constitutional convention in December, 1957.

The expulsion of the old bakers' union was followed by the granting of a charter to the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union on December 12, 1957.

There are four aspects to our development in the last twenty months which should prove of interest.

First, the growth of our organization in terms of membership, recognition by industry and bargaining results.

Second, the nature of the constitution adopted at our first constitutional convention last September.

Third, the record of NLRB elections and court decisions and, finally, the outlook for the future and the current situation in the corrupt union, its decline and inevitable demise.

The growth of the ABC can only

be described as phenomenal when one considers the entrenched organizational position which the expelled union occupied. The latter had a large treasury, a firmly established relationship with the employers—in some cases the relationship was too firmly established, as witness the loans and the sweetheart contracts which were exposed—and the advantage of an historic name. It had a membership which took, perhaps, greater pride in its history and name than those in any other union.

These advantages came to naught when the time of decision arrived despite the tremendous emotional impact involved. The decision required a choice between remaining with the expelled union or disaffiliating from it and affiliating with the ABC.

In local unions from one end of the country to the other, the answer came—the workers chose to honor their great traditions and history through affiliation with the ABC rather than to compromise with the corruption which had now become intimately associated with the name of the old union.

MEN and women who had contributed their efforts to building the old union, workers who had suffered and sacrificed for the union, now faced their momentous decision. In meetings throughout the country, old-timers rose to denounce the betrayers of their union. Their grief often made it difficult for them to speak, and often they wept openly and unashamedly.

A year ago we reported to the AFL-CIO Executive Council that we had a little more than half the former membership of the expelled union. Today we can report that we have 65 per cent of the former U.S. membership of the old union and 60 per cent of its former total membership, which includes Canada.

With a recent outstanding victory in Chicago, our membership will total 85,500 when the National Labor Rela-

tions Board certifies the results of that election.

Naturally, the rate of the growth of ABC has an immediate effect on the declining fortunes of the expelled union. Giving that organization the benefit of the doubt, it can claim, at best, a membership of 46,400 in the U.S. and another 10,000 in Canada—a total of 56,000 members.

This sharp reduction in the membership of the discredited group has placed it in great financial difficulties. Recently it fired six international representatives, four of whom had rendered services from four to seven years. A seventh international representative has been ordered to take his pension.

A reduction in the expelled union's office force was recently effected when five workers were dismissed. As many as fifteen employees in the health and welfare and pension fund offices have left and not been replaced.

But enough of the decline of the old. Let us return to the story of the building of the new.

With our growth in membership, there has naturally been an accompanying growth in our staff. We have established a full-time research and education department and developed a program of service to the local unions. Our field staff has been enlarged.

Before many months have passed the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union will be active in every aspect of modern trade union life, over and beyond what are considered traditional trade union activities.

Our health and welfare fund and our pension fund received acclaim recently when the consultant to both funds, Martin E. Segal, reported to our General Executive Board:

"The growth of the program in terms of numbers of individuals covered and the number of employers included is simply staggering.

"Starting in January, 1958, with

300 workers covered, the health and welfare program has grown to where 27,000 workers are included as of this date (March 17, 1959). We never anticipated the growth to this size when the program was first undertaken."

Before this month is over, about 36,000 workers will be covered in the health and welfare program.

The industry, of course, has had to face reality and disregard propaganda claims of the expelled outfit. After all, it is management which knows with what union it is dealing.

Before the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union was one year old, we had signed a national agreement with the United Biscuit Company, one of the largest companies in the field.

A vigorous campaign in the National Biscuit Company plants has resulted in ABC victories in nine out of seventeen of the NBC plants. As of this writing, the ABC represents 6,469 out of 8,424 National Biscuit Company workers coming within our jurisdiction. The ousted union faces contests in two more plants, one with

1,300 employees and the other with eighty.

Thus, ABC represents the overwhelming majority of the National Biscuit Company workers and will negotiate this important national agreement.

In the A. & P. bread plants, ABC has the representation in twenty out of the thirty-two plants which were formerly represented by the expelled organization.

At this time ABC represents a majority of the plants in seven of the eleven largest bread and cake companies in the United States.

DURING the past twenty months numerous collective bargaining contracts have been negotiated. The record shows clearly that these settlements have been consistently superior to those made by the expelled outfit.

In the field of new organization we have scored impressive gains. Of course, not all our organizational efforts have been successful.

Much has been written about the constitution adopted at our first constitutional convention, held in Sep-

tember of last year at Atlantic City. We consider it outstanding. Perhaps the best description which can be given is that it established a unique set of democratic controls.

While some of the provisions, individually, may be found in other union constitutions, it is the combination which makes the document distinctive. In connection with the handling of trusteeship, we are certain that a novel approach has been introduced.

To go into full detail would take far too much space, but here are the highlights of the ABC constitution which, we believe, make it unique:

The top officers—president, secretary-treasurer, executive vice-president and five regional vice-presidents—are nominated and elected at the convention. The constitution calls for this election by secret ballot. The salaries of these eight officers are established in the constitution. By virtue of their offices they are members of the General Executive Board.

But the GEB must consist of eighteen members, and the ABC constitution provides that the ten additional GEB members are to be nominated

The ABC received its charter in 1957. The hopes of clean unionists on that memorable occasion have been realized.



from within their respective regions—two from each region, no two from the same local union. These ten members of the GEB are elected by secret ballot in a referendum election.

No member can qualify as a candidate if he has any financial connection with the international. If he is on the international payroll, receives any compensation whatsoever from the international, he cannot qualify.

Thus, the majority of the General Executive Board members must always consist of local union representatives. Two of our present GEB members are plant workers.

THE ethical practices codes and standards of the AFL-CIO are incorporated in the constitution, and any provision in that constitution which may be in conflict with these standards or codes is without effect.

In the matter of trusteeships, the system is as follows:

At each convention the international president, with the approval of the delegates, appoints twenty local union officers to a trusteeship hearing panel. No one of these twenty men can be an international representative, employe or officer of the international union. The panel elects its own chairman.

When the GEB finds a situation which requires imposition of trusteeship over a local union, a special trustee is appointed. This appointment does not become effective until proper notice is given and a hearing is held. Only if two-thirds of the GEB decide that the situation is so grave that immediate action is necessary can the trusteeship go into immediate effect without a prior hearing. The procedure for a hearing must be followed nevertheless.

The international president must notify the officers of the local union involved and he also notifies the chairman of the trusteeship hearing panel.

The chairman appoints three members of the panel as the hearing board for the particular case. No member of this hearing board may be a member of any local union in the region of the local involved, nor may any member of the hearing board have ever held membership in that local.

A majority of the hearing board makes its own decision on the basis of the evidence. If it decides against trusteeship, then the special trustee

appointment by the GEB is immediately vacated.

Where trusteeship is established, the special trustee must give bond to safeguard the local union's funds and assets. He is subject to the direction and supervision of the GEB. He must report monthly on his actions and the affairs of the local union to the GEB and to the membership of the local union under his trusteeship.

Six months is the effective limit of the appointment of a special trustee. Another hearing by the trusteeship hearing board is required to determine whether trusteeship must be continued.

With the trusteeship panel of twenty composed of local union officers, it is pretty clear that the recommendation for imposition of trusteeship will be made only when the situation really warrants it.

Our experiences in the courts have been amazing. In all cases, thus far, our local unions which voted disaffiliation from the ousted group and affiliation with the ABC have won their legal battles entitling them to the assets of the old union.

In these cases the courts have given legal weight to the ouster action by the AFL-CIO. The courts have also found that, in earning expulsion, the old bakers' union had broken an important part of the contract it had with the members, namely, that loss of AFL-CIO affiliation has meant a deprivation to the members in terms of services—research, educational and legislative—and a loss of status in the community.

The courts have found that the stigma of corruption which expulsion placed upon BCW affiliates and members was an unjust burden for the locals and the workers to bear.

In connection with the NLRB elections, as of this writing, more than 300 election contests have been held to secure recognition as bargaining agent for the workers. In these elections the ABC has outdistanced the expelled group by better than 5 to 1.

Fortunately, not all of our 133 local unions had to go through the NLRB process, so that total NLRB votes have very little relationship to actual membership.

We have won the overwhelming number of such elections. But the NLRB ballot fight still goes on, though at a somewhat reduced pace.

In recent weeks the exiled inter-



First card in the new union went to William F. Schnitzler (right). With him was John W. Livingston.

national has been faced with a strong rank-and-file movement demanding unity with the ABC and a return to the AFL-CIO. However, the leaders of the old organization have not yet satisfied the requirements set forth by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. When they do, the ABC will gladly discuss merger with what remains of the old organization.

WITHOUT boasting, we of the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers can point to a job well done. We have demonstrated what the labor movement can do—without “outside interference”—in bringing about a cleanup.

The AFL-CIO has played an important role in the achievement of the success so far registered. But the overriding fact is that the chief job was performed by the rank and file of the workers in the shops and in the local unions.

With the accomplishments recorded here as the foundation, our future prospects are bright. New success will not come automatically. It will require the same dedicated effort and sacrifice which has been the hallmark of our efforts during these past twenty months. But we are here to stay, we will preempt the bakery and confectionery industry and become the union with sole jurisdiction.

We will continue to safeguard the heritage and traditions of the pioneers who established a highly respected union for bakery and confectionery workers. We will carry that heritage and tradition forward.

LABOR GIVES SCHOLARSHIPS

By JOHN CONNORS
AFL-CIO Director of Education

ONE of the great challenges America faces today is the acute shortage of educated manpower. The country is in the midst of technological changes of far-reaching proportions. Well-educated young people are needed in all walks of life. Yet, with the reality of this need, tens of thousands of our very able youth coming out of high schools each year never go on to college—primarily because they and their families lack the necessary funds. This is a waste of talent our nation cannot afford.

In 1948 the President's Commission on Higher Education recommended a large program of federal scholarships and loans to undergraduate and graduate students. One report on colleges and universities throughout the United States indicates that more than 80 per cent favor federal scholarships.

The AFL-CIO supports the broadest type of federal scholarship program. Labor believes no boy or girl who demonstrates the necessary interest and ability should be deprived of a college education because of lack of funds. President George Meany says:

"Federally financed scholarships for college study would be a long step forward toward a stronger democracy and would show the world that in America opportunities are equal."

In addition to its support of federal legislation, the AFL-CIO has instituted a program of college scholarship awards. This is no substitute for a large-scale federally financed scholarship program. However, for six deserving youngsters each year the AFL-CIO scholarships will mean the difference between a college education and the ending of their formal education upon graduation from high school.

The AFL-CIO program is small in comparison with the need, but the six scholarships do manifest labor's concern about the problem that exists today.

Six high school students from union and non-union families were advised in personal letters from President Meany that they had won merit scholarships worth up to \$6000 each.

The scholarships are for study at any accredited college or university in the United States. The provisions of the scholarship do not limit the course of study in any way.

Winners of the first AFL-CIO four-year college scholarship awards were: Joyce Ellen Zars of Bellwood, Illinois; Larry Clyde Headley, Harts, West Virginia; Richard J. Olson, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Christopher Ehret, Santa Paula, California; Bruce Kole, Oak Park, Michigan, and David J. Kennedy, Louisville, Kentucky.

THE scholarship winners were chosen from a panel of top candidates submitted by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation from among almost 10,000 contest finalists. Field interviews by AFL-CIO representatives supplemented the information supplied by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation.

The awards were made in recognition of the students' demonstrated ability to profit from college work. Family finances, as measured by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation's need formula, showed inability to pay for a college education.

Joyce Zars ranked near the top of her class of 1,058 at Proviso East High School in Maywood, Illinois. Besides her school work and extracurricular activities, Joyce had complete responsibility for her household, consisting of her father, a private chauffeur, her mother, who has been ill for eight years, and her grandmother. Joyce will study chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Larry Headley, whose father is dead and whose mother is a teacher in a one-room school, proves the adage that perservance ends in success. Rated first in his class, this lad had to walk "over a mountain" to ride a bus seventeen miles each day to and from school. He supplemented

the family's budget by working as part-time janitor in a country school. A straight "A" high school average will help in his study of electronics at West Virginia University.

Richard Olson, the son of a Union Pacific member of the Railroad Telegraphers Union of twenty-four years' standing, also made a straight "A" high school average. He was active in school clubs. He was an exchange student in West Germany last summer. Richard plans to study mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Also involved in the student exchange program with West Germany was Christopher Ehret of Santa Paula, California. In addition to his work as chairman of the school committee to raise money to bring exchange students to Santa Paula, Christopher is an Eagle Scout and writes a sports column in the local paper. First in his class of 227, he plans to major in mathematics at the California Institute of Technology.

Bruce Kole has been working in a food market and is a member of the Retail Clerks. His father, a member of UAW Local 157, died suddenly last December. Bruce was president of the Human Relations Club at Oak Park High School. He has helped support his family since he was in the ninth grade. He will take a pre-medical course at Wayne State University in Detroit.

One of four children whose father has been a member of the Post Office Clerks for nineteen years, David Kennedy ranked first in his class. Despite the fact that it took an hour by bus to get to school and an hour to return home, he managed to find time for extra-school activities, including editorship of the school paper and construction of a ham radio station. This top-flight student will attend the University of Notre Dame, where he expects to major in physics.

The national AFL-CIO each year plans to award six four-year merit scholarships worth up to \$6000 each to high school seniors of exceptional

ability who plan to go on to college.

Two scholarships will be awarded in each of three geographical sections of the United States. One scholarship in each area will be awarded to a student who has a parent holding current membership in a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO. One scholarship in each geographical area will be unrestricted; that is, the winner may or may not be the child of a trade unionist.

This program is conducted in cooperation with the non-profit National Merit Scholarship Corporation, an independent organization. Final selection of winners is made by representatives of the AFL-CIO from finalists qualifying in the annual National Merit Scholarship Corporation examination program.

Each spring the high schools of the nation, public, private and parochial, are invited to participate in the nationwide scholarship qualifying examination given by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. Principals enter their schools by registering for this test, which is given in April, as the first step in the selection procedure.

In the event the school as a whole does not participate in the program, students may take part individually by writing to the National Merit Scholarship Corporation and requesting that special arrangements be made for them.

A group of top seniors, the highest scorers on the qualifying test in each state, pro-rated by population, will be advanced to the semi-finalist stage in September. These semi-finalists will be asked to take a scholastic aptitude test of the College Entrance Examination Board in December.

Finalists are selected on the basis of scores on the two examinations, their school activities and the biographical information which they have supplied. No reference is made, on either the qualifying test or the College Entrance Examination Board test, to race, creed or color.

The amount of each scholarship award is based upon the financial need of the individual. One specified purpose of the AFL-CIO merit scholarship program is to aid boys and girls who have demonstrated their ability to profit from college work and have a substantial need for the awards.

The stipends will vary upwards to \$1500 per year, depending on the

actual costs involved in attending the college selected and the funds available to the student from his own resources. The difference between the student's resources and his college budget—tuition, living expenses, fees, travel expenses—determines his stipend. These stipends are subject to reevaluation from year to year as needs change—increased college cost, changes in family finances, etc.

In addition to the scholarship program established by the AFL-CIO, many national and international unions, state central bodies, local central bodies and local unions have sponsored scholarship awards for a number of years. These programs have been increasing each year, until

at the present time the labor scholarship awards that are available to students total more than \$500,000.

Today with these scholarship programs, as throughout its history, the American trade union movement is following the traditional policies of organized workers in stressing the importance of education as the means to the desired end—democracy.

The AFL-CIO is continuing the work of farsighted men who realized that only through education can the principles of integrity and freedom be taught to our youth. These principles, understood by an educated and intelligent citizenry, form the cornerstone of our struggle and defense against dictatorship and despotism.

Not Enough Teachers

(Continued from Page 11)

The fact that teachers are public employees working in the public interest makes the collective bargaining process even more publicly desirable.

Fringe benefits taken for granted in most labor unions are still in the pioneering stage for teachers.

Teachers feel that they are entitled to better severance pay and retirement pensions supplemented with social security. These benefits are improving under pressure from the American Federation of Teachers and the organized labor movement.

Class size, discipline and teaching conditions that allow equal opportunity for all children are major problems of today's teachers. Overcrowded classes allow too little teaching attention to the individual student. While disorder arises from overcrowding, principals have become noted for passing the buck back to teachers to keep order.

Textbooks are teachers' tools and the curriculum a blueprint for using them. Teachers feel that they should share the responsibility, by advisory and active participation, in choosing the textbooks that will best serve the needs of children today and tomorrow.

Major irritants of teachers include the introduction of panaceas in the classroom. The public is told that these are to cope with the shortages and emergencies in education.

One of these panaceas is merit rating. This is a system in which supposedly superior teachers are paid more than others by subjective rating

of one teacher as better than another. The system nullifies the single salary schedule of equal pay for equal education and experience. It disrupts teaching staffs and adds to the shortage of qualified teachers.

Another panacea is teaching by television. When used as a substitute for the classroom teacher-pupil relationship, this method of teaching is inadequate for complete instruction and the needs of the growing, inquisitive mind. Mass education for economic reasons cannot replace competent teachers. Television at best is a teacher's aid—no more.

The growing practice of manning classrooms with only partly trained teachers, not regularly or fully certified, robs the students of their right to be taught by competent instructors.

For a long time we have been lulled by the assertion that American schools are the best in the world. This is being challenged. It is time we met this challenge by giving American teachers the recognition, the reward, the freedom, the professional status and stability needed in their key part in education for democracy.

This we believe can be attained only through the organization of teachers into the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Teachers.

It is only through such membership and coordination with the labor movement, which understands the importance of the goals for which we strive, that American education can reach the full stature and value for the education of all children.

LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

►All union members have been urged to join in the annual observance of National Bible Week, scheduled to be held October 19 to 25. AFL-CIO President George Meany said: "In these tense and trying times, all of us can find sustenance and support in the words of the Holy Bible."

►The part that workers' education can play in helping unions around the world to meet their problems was stressed by Ben D. Segal, education director of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, in a recent talk he gave at Stockholm, Sweden.

►Henry A. Burkhammer, former director of District 33 of the Steelworkers, died at Duluth, Minn., at the age of 77. He began his career in the labor movement while still a boy. Starting work at the Junior West Virginia Coal Company, near Vadis, W. Va., he became active in the Mine Workers and was elected president of the local there within a short time.

►Members of Lodge 826, International Association of Machinists, Elmira, N. Y., have begun a nationwide campaign to increase sales of Remington Rand typewriters and other office equipment. These products all carry the union label.

►Tom Black, a member of Lodge 388 of the Railway Clerks in Handley, W. Va., is only 25, but he has been elected mayor of East Bank, a community on the Ohio River near Handley. He is married and the father of three children.

►Local 712 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has opened an impressive headquarters. The local operates in Beaver County, Pa. The new \$375,000 building has sixteen offices and a large assembly hall.

►At Minneapolis and St. Paul, the Journeymen Stone Cutters recently gained a 10-cent hourly wage increase, and they will receive further boosts of 5 cents an hour every six months for the next year and a half.

►Peter Ottley, president of Local 144, Building Service Employees, will be honored for his activities in behalf of philanthropic and civic causes at a testimonial dinner in New York on October 29. Proceeds of the dinner will go for cancer research at the labor-supported City of Hope National Medical Center.

►Organization is under way among hospital workers in a score of cities following the recent strike at seven hospitals in New York City. The organizing drives involve thousands of hospital workers in Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Kansas City and other cities.

►The winner of a golf tournament conducted by Local 1397, United Steelworkers of America, was Joseph Wise. He shot a 73 to take the crown. He is an employee at the Homestead Works of United States Steel.

►Three employees of MacDonald and Lumsden, wholesale shoe company in Vancouver, British Columbia, each got about \$200 in back pay under a contract settlement obtained by Local 535 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

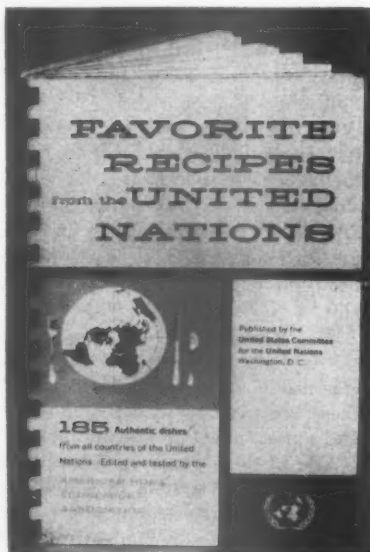
►President L. S. Buckmaster has called on all members of the United Rubber Workers to give all-out support to United Fund campaigns for community health, welfare and character-building agencies. He is an honorary vice-president and trustee of the United Fund in Akron, Ohio.

►Steelworkers' Local 2341 has won an arbitration decision upholding the right of a worker to refuse to mow the boss's lawn. Arbitrator Louis A. Stone ruled that management's right to direct its work force "is limited to matters concerned with the conduct of the plant."

►Higher minimum wages for workers in American Samoa have gone into effect. Hourly minimums in transportation, shipping and fish canning are now 75 cents. Rates in other covered industries, previously 38 cents an hour, have been boosted to 55 cents.

►A joint labor-management committee to promote greater use of American-flag tankers in the importation of oil has been established, with President Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union and President Paul Hall of the Seafarers acting as directors.

New Recipe Book Issued



THE United States Committee for the United Nations has just brought out an enlarged and substantially revised edition of its popular cookbook, "Favorite Recipes from the United Nations." Designed for year-round use, the cookbook provides intriguing recipes for entertaining and is also helpful for mothers who want to make the children in the family aware of other lands and other peoples.

"Eating internationally" as a part of the annual observance of United Nations Day was initiated last year by President and Mrs. Eisenhower at the White House.

The book can be obtained for \$1.50 from the United States Committee for the United Nations, Box 1958, Washington 13, D. C.

►Senior Fulbright scholarships have been awarded to Emery Bacon, education director of the United Steelworkers, and Arthur Carstens, assistant director of labor programs at the University of California at Los Angeles. Applications for senior Fulbright awards in the field of workers' education for the 1960-61 academic year will close October 1.

►Communist attempts to capture the American labor movement are covered in a comprehensive way in "Communism in American Unions," a new book by the veteran David J. Saposs. The book is a McGraw-Hill publication. Francis A. Henson reviews the work at some length in the current issue of *Education News and Views*, an AFL-CIO publication.

►Five hundred employees of the Rowntree Chocolate Company in Toronto have received an hourly wage increase of 3 per cent. Their union is Local 461, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

►More than \$45,000,000 has been recovered since 1955 for more than 507,000 employees from employers who violated provisions of federal labor laws. This total exceeds by

Panama Honors Labor Leader

PANAMA has conferred a high honor on Edward W. Hatchett, president of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council. The government of Panama awarded the veteran trade unionist the Order of Balboa.

A graduate of the United States Naval Academy, Mr. Hatchett is widely recognized in the Canal Zone as an outstanding leader of the labor movement. He has served with distinction as a labor representative on numerous important committees. For many years he has been president or secretary of the Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council. He moved to the Canal Zone in 1931.



E. W. HATCHETT

\$11,000,000 what was recovered in the previous five-year period, according to Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell.

►The Flint Glass Workers have won a 17-cent wage and pension package in a new contract with the Illuminating and Allied Glass Manufacturing Association.

►Organized labor in La Crosse, Wis., recently completed eighteen years of successful use of public service time offered by local radio stations.

►Julius Loos, secretary-treasurer of the Allied Printing Trades Council of New York State, has been named Deputy State Industrial Commissioner. He is 60 and a resident of Rochester. He is a former vice-chairman of the Monroe County Board of Health. His salary will be \$16,962 a year.

►A new Union Label and Service Trades Council has been organized at Springfield, Mo. The charter was presented by C. Fred Kelsick, area Label Department representative.

A Report From Wyoming

(Continued from Page 12)

In Governor J. J. (Joe) Hickey, Wyoming labor feels that it has a liberal Governor and a friend. Labor organizations which supported him in the last election expect to derive much satisfaction as they observe how he carries out his duties.

Wonderful Wyoming, in addition to its wonderful scenery and climate, inspires all men with those traditions of the past that made the Old West a glowing tribute to the hardy pioneers.

As a recreational spot Wyoming is hard to beat. Fishing and hunting are excellent. The sun is hot and the shade is cool. The air is fresh and there is plenty of it.

There are innumerable natural resources, which will bring growth in the years to come—growth in industry, in population and in wealth—and with this growth will come more and bigger problems.

Our state has been singularly free

of trouble between management and labor. Only three serious strikes have occurred in Wyoming. Of these the Rock Springs riot of 1885 was the worst.

After the importation of Chinese coolies to the Pacific Coast, anti-Chinese agitation spread from San Francisco over the entire West. Chinese laborers first came to Rock Springs in 1875, just after coal production had been interrupted by a strike in the unionized mines. The new labor hired to operate the mines was a mixed force, one-third white and two-thirds Chinese. An equal wage was paid both.

Anti-Chinese feeling grew steadily and culminated in a riot on September 2, 1885, when many resident Chinese were killed and the rest warned to leave town immediately.

In 1922 Wyoming labor took part in the nationwide strike of bituminous

coal miners called in protest against a proposed wage cut. The same year, during the national railroad shopcraft strike, also against wage reductions, thousands of Wyoming workers were idled.

As great as are the opportunities before the united labor movement of Wyoming, equally great are the challenges and responsibilities. The officers and associated organizations of the Wyoming State AFL-CIO recognize their responsibilities, not only to the members of their organizations, but to the community, and on this basis are working with great determination and dedication.

The Wyoming State AFL-CIO, its officers and affiliates have at their disposal unlimited opportunity for the advancement of the objectives of the workers of Wyoming.

Every member of organized labor must be fully aware that his vote and the votes of his family are of great importance not only to their own welfare but also to that of the community and state in which they live.

WHAT THEY SAY

Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers—At the very



time when free labor and free management must accept increasing responsibilities, collective bargaining in this country is breaking down, and we are witnessing a

hardening of the attitudes of American employers in the face of their obligations and responsibilities at the bargaining table. Our problems are too serious, when measured in terms of the world in which we live, for anything but understanding. The margin of survival which we are living under is getting so narrow that we cannot afford the private wars that are now being waged by big business against American labor.

Because we cannot meet the challenge that we face in the world, we cannot commit the economic resources to the broad responsibilities that we face, in a world in which the Soviet Union is intensifying and concentrating increased resources to programs of economic penetration and political subversion.

A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters



Only a strong labor organization is the answer to labor exploitation. A labor organization can be strong only if it brings within its fold all workers

in the trade or craft, class or industry. Racially segregated local unions are as morally unjustifiable and organizationally indefensible as racially segregated public schools, housing, recreation or transportation.

Employers who exploit white workers and black workers in the South have effectively played upon the division of labor upon the basis of race. These employers have profited from racial wage differentials.

While Negro workers' wages, as

a rule, are lower than the wages of white workers performing the same work, the wages of white workers, too, are lower than the wages of workers performing the same work in other areas under trade union organization. Thus, white workers in the South suffer from substandard wages because of a lack of strong trade union collective bargaining power resulting from the division of labor upon a basis of race.

Organized labor must project a massive revolution within its house to effect a transition of the Negro worker from the status of second-class to first-class economic citizenship.

Thomas J. Dodd, Senator from Connecticut—The American people,



confronted now with exhortations to give Nikita Khrushchev a friendly reception, are being propagandized into a position of either applauding the Communist

dictator or appearing to hinder efforts to "relax tensions." The tens of millions of Americans who oppose the Khrushchev visit are almost without spokesmen in Congress and in the press.

It was Khrushchev who in 1956 ordered the Red Army to invade Hungary, depose the legal government of Imre Nagy and ruthlessly massacre Hungarian civilians in all areas where there was open opposition.

It was Khrushchev who invited the Hungarian commanding officer, General Pal Maleter, to negotiations under a flag of truce—and then had him arrested by the chief of the Soviet secret police, General Serov. It was Khrushchev who lured Premier Imre Nagy and his colleagues out of their sanctuary in the Yugoslav Embassy by perfidiously offering them an assurance of safe conduct—and then kidnapped them as they emerged from the embassy.

It was Khrushchev who one year ago horrified the conscience of the free world by ordering the murder of

General Maleter and Prime Minister Nagy after secret trials on fraudulent charges.

Nikita Khrushchev rose to Communist prominence as the hangman of the Ukraine. He has maintained himself in power as the Butcher of Budapest. He has on his hands the blood of countless thousands of innocent people who were murdered under his personal direction. He is responsible for the continued suffering of millions in slave labor camps. He maintains the iron grip of tyranny over a dozen captive peoples.

In addition to his personal crimes, he is the principal representative of the system of concentration camps, mass murder, brainwashing, militant atheism, the organized promotion of falsehood, the planned enslavement of the entire non-Communist world.

This is the man whom the President has invited to our country as an honored guest.

Joseph A. Beirne, president, Communications Workers of America—

By forcing a long, hard strike, the steel companies hope to discredit the union's leadership and to gain great direct influence over their employees. They



realize that over the past twenty years more and more American workers have been looking to their unions for imaginative leadership rather than to their employers. The companies want to reverse this trend. They hope further that, by depleting the union's treasury, they can bring the union to heel and thus take over the loyalties of their employees unhampered by the union.

This is, of course, a wild dream on the part of management. The striking workers are 100 per cent behind their union. Further, the Steelworkers do not stand alone. All American workers are ready to help financially and in any other way needed.

Pitted against the Steelworkers and their leadership in this strike is one of the biggest coalitions of industrial management ever joined together. It seems to me that the best thing we of labor can do is to indicate to the solidly organized companies that the American worker is equally solidly organized on his side of the bargaining table.

"SEE YOU AT THE UNION MEETING"



*IF YOU want your union to do a good job for you and to be clean and democratic, remember that you must do your part by being a **REAL** trade unionist all the time.*

One of the most valuable contributions you and your fellow members can make is by regular attendance at the meetings of your local union. Bear in mind that union meetings are very important and it's your duty to be present. Don't miss the meetings if you want your union to be clean, effective and democratic.



*Did you enjoy your
paid vacation?*

THE labor movement doesn't always receive proper recognition for all the good it has done. One of labor's notable achievements is the vacation with pay. Not too many years ago, paid vacations were given only to the executives and just a small fraction of working people. Then organized labor pressed its demand for this benefit for all who toil. And the unions were successful. When you are having your vacation with pay, remember that it's no gift from your employer but a solid gain that was fought for and won by organized labor. Your kids and neighbors should know about this. Why not tell them today?